THE PROCESS AND PATTERN OF EMERGENCE OF STRUCTURE AND COMPOSITION OF MAIN TRADING TOWNS OF MEDIEVAL MUGHAL INDIA

THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF DELHI
FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

ISHA KAUSHIK

Under the Supervision of:

Dr. BARKATULLAH KHAN

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY
UNIVERSITY OF DELHI
DELHI-110007

APRIL, 2013

DECLARATION

This is to certify that the material embodied in the present study, "**The Process and Pattern of Emergence of Structure and Composition of Main Trading Towns of Medieval Mughal India**" is based on my original research work and reference to other works has been duly acknowledged at relevant place. To the best of my knowledge it has not been submitted in part or in full for any diploma or degree to any university. This is being submitted to the University of Delhi for the degree of Doctorate of Philosophy in Geography in fulfillment of required degree.

ISHA KAUSHIK

Dr. BARKATULLAH KHAN
(Supervisor)
Department of Geography
University of Delhi
Delhi-110007

Dr. R.B. SINGH
(Head of Department)
Department of Geography
University of Delhi
Delhi-110007

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I must thank a number of persons without whose help this study would not have been possible. These people have not only encouraged me but have helped me at various stages of the study.

I would like to thank my supervisor and my guide Dr. Barkatullah Khan, for his guidance and encouragement, which enabled me to carry out this research. He has given me a number of valuable suggestions and expert guidance whenever required.

I am grateful to the officials and library staffs of the Ratan Tata Library, Delhi School of Economics, University of Delhi, National Archive of India, 1, Janpath Connaught Place, New Delhi for their assistance in the collection of data and information for my thesis.

I also thank my Advisory Committee for their valuable suggestions.

Last but not the least, I express my deepest gratitude to my family members and my friends, whose constant support and encouragement boosted my moral and gave me confidence in every stage of this research work.

ISHA KAUSHIK

PREFACE

On the basis of the evolution of towns in different periods they can be classified as Ancient, Medieval and Modern towns. The ancient towns developed as religious and cultural centres and it was only during the Mughal period that a centralized political setup came in India and trading as an activity started.

Mughal Era witnessed a continuous movement of people, money and resources, which paved the way for a strong interaction between different provinces of that time. The aspiration to govern a strong political empire by the Mughals gave birth to a series of urban centres in diverse parts of the empire for efficient control. Towns performed different types of functions by becoming either administrative or commercial or religious centres.

Different types of commodities prevailed in these towns and were traded. The *"Great Mughal's"* wealth and grandeur was proverbial, and nearly all observers were impressed by the opulence and sophistication of the Mughal Empire.

For nearly one hundred and seventy years (1556-1719) the Mughal Empire remained a dynamic, centralized, and complex organization. The main trade route acted as blood vessel which ran through whole of the Mughal Empire and strengthened the interaction between various trading centres.

Trade was a major economic activity of that time and the subcontinent's productivity ensured that it enjoyed a continuing favourable balance of trade,' Not only there was inland trade but also international trade since during the seventeenth century, craft industries originated and so on There were different types of markets existing, for keeping different kinds of goods for ex the *Nakhas* was a daily market place where cotton and slaves were sold, both wholesale and retail. Gunges were usually the grain markets, *Mandavis* were markets of goods, usually provision or grains, a *katra* was an enclosed market. The chapter gives a description of the various types of markets that existed during that period ranging from *emporias* to hats. It also describes the structure of towns, the infrastructure, such as *sarais*, *karkhanas*, banking facilities, gardens etc.

The two most stupendous items of import in to Mughal India comprised treasure (notably silver) and horses, while textiles dominated exports. The Mughal cavalry generated an enormous demand for quality horses from Central Asia and Persia. Above and beyond this there were horses required by the cavalry troopers. To retain such large number of horses of non –Indian breeds, there was need to import horses continuously, particularly since these breeds could not be raised well in India .While bullion and horses constituted the main import and must have accounted for the major portion of the value of imports, there were also imports of certain other articles, namely precious stones, non precious metals like copper, quicksilver, tin, lead; amber beads and vermillion.

Malabar pepper was one of the important items of export from India; but the producing regions and principal exporting ports were in South India, well outside Akbar's empire. The major portion of Indian exports was accounted for by textile. Indian cotton textiles were also exported by the Western overland routes. Babur mentions cotton cloth among the main merchandise brought from India to Kabul .Cotton textiles had a colossal market in the Red Sea countries and Turkey.

Turkey imported Gujarat cloth through the Levant. Quantities of Gujarat calico must thus have been regularly reaching Western Europe by the end of the Sixteenth century through the Levant as well as around the Cape of Good Hope.

Ceylon and the Maldives islands also imported cotton cloth from Gujarat. Gujarat cloth had still larger markets farther east. Cambay cloth of various kinds exported to Malacca. Bengal the prior vital exporting region sent white muslin to various markets extending from the Red Sea to China. Sind too produced cotton stuffs. Diverse kinds of Muslin, conceivably fine calico, were exported from the province to Portuguese India and Hormuz.

Mughal India also exported some quantities of Silk. Although Bengal silk exports were a striking features of India's trade in the seventeenth century, these do not seem to have been as large at the beginning of that century.

The location of majority of towns was determined by proximity to a perennial river, which would guarantee continued water supply through –out the year and assisted transport .The towns which did not have access to a river had large tanks or reservoirs for the supply of water.

The period of Mughal Empire, or rather of the sixteenth century, seventeenth and part of the eighteenth century, appears to be out-and-out golden age of urbanization, At least for much of the Northern and central India, there was both an spreading out of the size of the pre-existing cities and towns and a propagation of the new foundations

During the Mughal era the towns grew so flourishingly because they were supported with rich agricultural hinterland. It has been seen that a multitude of factors leading to the rise and growth of individual towns; and any classification on the basis of functions that a town mainly performed must take in to account not one or two but a number of categories. The categories of town included; Administrative centres, marts with access to raw materials from the country around to ensure a permanent manufacturing character, positions on navigable river or land route, ports, places of religious sanctity, and of pilgrimage, places possessed of strategic situations on hills passes or borders, contributing to their military as well as commercial importance.

Occasionally more than one factor could coalesce to account for the rise and growth of a town. But by and large it may be said that whatever the origin of towns it was the industries and subsequently the trade which assured their continued survival and stirred their further growth.

There are examples of towns which started out and developed as administrative centres but did not die out when they stopped to function as such, owing to them having acquired position as industrial centres or marts such as Agra.

A very important fact that emerges is that the Mughal administration in the different regions of the empire followed a fairly unvarying pattern. The officials posted in and around the town and their status and functions all-embracing, but not so much according to regions, as to size and importance of towns. Unsurprisingly a big city, which contained a number of *mahals*, could have a huge number of custom officials,

where as a small town which had only one *mahal* had fewer officials .But on the whole, the designations, duties and functions in various towns were identical, and they were appointed by the same measures.

Today centuries have passed after the decline of the Mughal empire but the towns that originated then are still existing though with a different scenario altogether. To study the current status of these towns the demographic characteristics such as population according to the 2001 data has been studied. Also the occupational structure of these areas has also been studied and analysed. Regarding the occupational structure, most of the towns are having predominantly male population as workers in all the categories. The percentage of male workers with respect to total workers ranged from eighty three percent to ninety percent and in case of female it is ten percent to fifteen percent therefore basically the structure was dominated by male workers. There is lack of equity among the participation of male and female workers.

Moreover, all these towns are dynamic in nature. Be it Demographically, Socially, Politically or economically these towns have evolved from their past status and are still evolving as they are evolutionary in nature.

CONTENTS

Titles		*Page No.*

Titles	*Page No.*

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF MAPS

Chapter 1
Introduction

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

On the basis of the evolution of towns in different periods they can be classified as Ancient, Medieval and Modern towns. The ancient towns developed as religious and cultural centres and it was only during the Mughal period that a centralized political setup came in India and trading as an activity started.

Mughal Era witnessed a continuous movement of people, money and resources, which paved the way for a strong interaction between different provinces of that time. The aspiration to govern a strong political empire by the Mughals gave birth to a series of urban centres in diverse parts of the empire for efficient control. Towns performed different types of functions by becoming either administrative or commercial or religious centres.

Different types of commodities prevailed in these towns and were traded. The "*Great Mughal's*" wealth and grandeur was proverbial, and nearly all observers were impressed by the opulence and sophistication of the Mughal Empire.

For nearly one hundred and seventy years (1556-1719) the Mughal Empire remained a dynamic, centralized, and complex organization. The main trade route acted as blood vessel which ran through whole of the Mughal Empire and strengthened the interaction between various trading centres.

Trade was a major economic activity of that time and the subcontinent's productivity ensured that it enjoyed a continuing favourable balance of trade,' Not only there was inland trade but also international trade since during the seventeenth century, craft industries originated and so on .Today centuries have passed after the decline of the Mughal empire but the towns that originated then are still existing though with a different scenario altogether. Therefore to study their current status census 2001 data has been taken into account. It becomes imperative to look in to the general structure of towns which existed during that period. An attempt in this chapter has been made

to acquaint the reader with the general structure of the town.

Persian historians of the period present very simple classification of towns (or cities).They mention only two categories based either on size and population or on administrative status(whether imperial or provincial capitals, *sarkar* or *pargana* headquarters).There was first a simple division of towns in to big and small. The word *balda (*or occasionally *shahr) is* generally employed for a big town, and *qasba* for a township. For the ports big and small the terms *Banda*r and *Bara* were used.[1]

Some features were familiar to all the towns. There was a permanent market *(bazaar*) and the inhabitants were largely non-agriculturalists. The towns were centres of commerce and crafts. Easy access to water, from a river or artificial reservoir was another requirement. Usually too, a town of a respectable size had fortification comprising a castle within and an outer enclosing wall, whether of mud or bricks, surrounded by a deep trench. Finally, it contained administrative headquarters. In case of the major ports(*Bandars),* in addition to the above features access to the open sea either through a harbour, or a creek or estuary, was crucial to facilitate ships to approach and cast anchor. The *bara* had its connection with the high-seas through a smaller river to which small boats alone had access.[2]

References to several *Bazaars* in a single town point towards the fact that each ward or locality had its own market, In addition to things of daily requirements of the residents, these bazaars also sold commodity manufactured there or brought from outside for sale. The *Bazaar* was known after the name of that commodity. Sometimes, the bazaars were also known after the name of a particular craft and profession. The big markets known as *bazaar-I khas (bazaar-i-Kalan)* where all kinds of commodities were on sale, were usually confined to big streets or *Chaklas*, *chauks* or *chaurahas*, or located in front of the fort or around principal mosques, sarais and temples. The smaller markets, viz., *mandis*, *ganj*, *dariba*, *katra*, *pet-nakhas* were scattered in various wards and quarters. On both sides of the street there used to be

1 M.P.Singh, Town, Market, Mint & Port in The Mughal Empire 1556-1707, pp. 1-3
2 Ibid, pp.14-16

shops opening during the day a fixed time and were kept open to until first quarter of the night.[3]

The sources of the period give the impression that except one or two big broad and paved streets the other streets and lanes were narrow and muddy.

Outside the enclosures of the nobles the rest of the people used to live together according to professions, crafts and castes. The merchants, craftsmen, professionals and labourers lived in separate wards. We come across names of several localities known after crafts or professions. For example, in Agra several *mahallas* were known after the principal crafts placed there or after a particular commodity sold.[4]

There was the *loha gali (*after blacksmiths) *chhapitola* (ward of painters), *cheeni tola* (the sugar mart), *naiki mandi (*Barbers ward), *dal mandi, ghasmandi, hing ki mandi, kanari bazaar, sabun katra* (soap market), *nilpara (*indigo mart) *kucha-i-rangrezan* (dyers) in Agra. At Delhi *mochiwara*, *nil katra*, and in Banaras, *katra-i-resham* was there. Besides the economic advantage in having a craft concentrated at one part of the town, there was also the caste system which was responsible for this pattern of settlement. The poorest men and menial servants usually had their quarters close to the city walls. However, with the further extention of the town they tended to be pushed outside the wall.[5]

In Mughal India some planning appears to have been followed, in the location of forts or imperial residences, houses of nobles, *bazaars* (mandis), merchant colonies, quarters of artisans, professional men and labourers, mosques, temples, *sarais*, dharamshalas, places of burial and cremation, gardens, tanks, wells and slaughter-house.

As a general practice gardens, tanks, cemeteries, and cremation grounds and slaughter-houses were not located near the middle of the town. As for the town castle there appears to be no unchanging pattern .It could be in one corner of the town or it could be built on a near by hill or on elevated ground surrounded by habitation. But it usually possessed effective defence mechanism such as a river either on one side or

[3] Ibid, pp.18-20
[4] Ibid, pp.20-22
[5] Ibid, pp.20-22

on two sides. If there was no river on any side, it was usually encircled by a deep ditch. The outer wall of the fort built of bricks, red sand-stone or of mud, usually had two gates one at the front and other at the rear. The door frames of the gates were strong and thick made of wood backed by iron strips with sharp spikes facing outwards to protect them from a charge by elephants. The wall itself was usually thick and contained battlements and string courses besides having towers on all four corners mounted with heavy cannon. The fort contained accommodation for officers, *karkhanas*, *kachehri*, quarters of staff, water reservoir, storehouses, etc.

Above and beyond the fort in the capital city meant for imperial residence a fort was built in almost every town and a garrison headed by the *quiladar* and consisting of cavalry, infantry, matchlockmen, gunners, cannoniers and racketeers, equipped with heavy cannon was stationed there. The forts in general were spacious enough to provide shelter to a sizable portion of the town population in times of threat.

In the capital the principal nobles had their palaces as close to the imperial residences. But proximity to water supply appears to have been another vital consideration. In cases of Agra and Delhi for example the nobles built their extravagant enclosures containing gardens and Tanks along the rivers. It was for this reason that Agra stretched to a length of 6 *kos* while its breadth was only ½ *kos*. In case of smaller towns the proximity to water supply and closeness to the fort from the point of security determined the sites of houses and men of substance. The towns were by and large protected by thick walls, made of bricks or muds from eight to ten feet high.

The wall had battlements and string-courses and towers mounted with heavy cannon in all corners and at premeditated points or on top of the city gates which were shut after sunset and guarded by a posse of guards headed by a *darogha* under the general supervision of the *kotwal*. Nobody could come in and go out without the written permission of the guards[6]

According to Mirat, "*a pura (of Ahmedabad) means a big street containing lofty buildings and a bazaar full of precious and rare articles. In reality each pura consists of a big city*," The *pura* came in to being when the population of the town increased

6 Ibid,pp.16-22

so as to leave no space within the city for further enlargement. Certain rich men got their houses built outside the wall and named the new colonies (*pura*) after their own names. While a *pura* had all stipulations of the city life, hitherto without the mother town, it had no identity of its own.

For general as well as fiscal administration it was included in the main town. It was considered simply a part of the extention of the main town outside the wall. Following the noble or rich man or whosoever founded the new *pura*, the merchants, artisans and workmen, also built their houses there and contributed to making the *pura* a blossoming centre of commerce and manufacturers.

The wide-ranging impression that one gets from the sources is that houses in Indian cities were of two types; (a) extravagant enclosures built of bricks and stone belonging to the aristocracy, rich men and big merchants, (b) houses of mud, wood and bamboo covered with straw, grass and thatch inhabited by ordinary people (the artisans, workmen, and labourers).The former were spacious airy well –built and well supplied with water containing gardens and tanks and bordering upon the principal streets. The latter were undersized, soiled, with no appropriate arrangements for water, unsymmetric and opening in to tapered and short lanes.

Building *sarai* was regarded as a beneficent activity of the imperial government, the nobles and the big merchants. Besides the *Sarai* built on highways, there were hardly a town which did not have one .These were meant for travellers and strangers and for all those who came for business in the town and had to stay overnight. A *sarai* could be built in the middle of the town or in a separate locality or in a pura. It was usually built in the form of a square, and like cloisters divided in to several cells. Every now and then a *sarai* was so big as to have a street within. Some of the *sarai* were built of brick and stone and looked like fortified palaces with bastions and strong gates. Others were walled enclosures with 50 or 60 huts covered with thatch within[7].

Indian towns had usually a number of mosques and temples. Mosques were in general built within the locality inside the town wall whereas temples could be built within or without the town wall and were sometimes laid out in a garden close to habitation.

---

[7] Ibid, pp.22-24

The Idgah always was situated outside the town and faced the direction of Mecca. As Mosques and temples, because they were community properties, were usually built by joint contributions from the respective communities. Conversely there are references to mosques being built by the emperor, big nobles and rich men.

In addition, rich baniya merchants constructed temples at a number of places out of their own resources. In some towns, mosques and temples were surrounded by bazaars. Besides being used as places of worships, mosques and temples served their respective communities in another way, viz., for imparting elementary education. There are references to *madrasas, maktabs* and *pathshalas*, attached to mosques and temples. Here theologians of the communities acted as teachers, the main stress being laid on the study of religion, philosophy and scriptures. There are also references to *madrasas* and *maktabs* housed in mausoleums and *khanqahs*. Broadly there were two types of schools; One established by rulers and private individuals at a particular place and the other scattered at the houses of learned scholars. The Mughals did not have any enduring department to look after education. They however, used to aid plentifully by way of stipends, gifts and land grants to learning centres and learned scholars who attracted a large number of students to higher studies. Besides these, a number of schools were run by private persons with the support of donations.[8]

Hospitals were now and again established in the big towns. At Ahmedabad a hospital meant for poor patients and run by the Imperial government was reported.

In the accounts of European travellers there are several references to hospitals for animals in almost all the principal towns of Gujarat. They were run by money collected as alms and from certain big merchants. Here old, sick and disabled animals, birds and insects were looked after.[9]

Mughal cities were often surrounded by magnificient gardens. According to *Pelsaert*, they served two purposes. During the life-time of the nobles they "*served for their pleasure and enjoyment ..... and after death for their tombs."Nobles used to spend lavishly on gardens*. A huge amount of money was spent on ensuring the supply of

[8] Ibid, pp.22-24
[9] Ibid, pp.23-26

running water, feeding tanks, forming waterfalls and fountains. On high bricks and stone walls and towers in each corner, cupolas, pillars and galleries, on arched gateways and on all sorts of trees, grass and flowers and flowers. A tax was levied on the owner provided the produce was more than the expense. Nobles also laid out large orchards.[10]

The largest group among the inhabitants of towns was unsurprisingly composed of artisans and labourers. The needs of luxuries and comforts required by the aristocracy and the demand for ordinary articles such as cloth by the ordinary employees of the officials and their court establishments furnished sufficient reason to attract them to cities. Long –distant trade, also helped to develop urban commodity production. The import of horses, rarities, gold and silver, which created a counter demand for native goods, ultimately stimulated production for exports (i.e. cotton- cloth, silk-goods, salt petre, indigo, etc.).[11]

The growing trade in calicoes and other fabrics not only provided essential thrust for popularising the weaving industry but gave birth to a number of ancillary trades. Mention in this regard may be made of cotton carding, spinning, thread processing, bleaching, dyeing, embroidering and manufacturing clothes interwoven with gold and silver threads. The various categories of handicraft producers residing in towns were, Firstly, weavers (julaha) of cotton, silk and woollen cloths and those who supplied allied industries such as carders, spinners, processors of thread, painters, embroiderers, dyers, bleachers, workers in gold and silver thread and weaver of rough fabrics; secondly, those engaged in the manufacture of articles from metals-gold and silver (sunar), iron (lohar) [12].

The mercantile community appears to have been a heterogeneous class comprising a range of racial elements. In the literature of the period the members of the above, with the exception of the *saraf*, *dallal* and *arhatiya*, no strict classification based on work or business appears to have existed. Even in the case of *saraf* and the *dallal* the two

---

10 Ibid, pp.26-30
11 Ibid, pp.34-35
12 Ibid,pp.35-36

professions got intermixed, the *saraf* often acting as *dallal*;otherwise, the merchants were just classified as either big (*bara* or *pukka saudagar*) or small (*chhota* or *kachcha saudagar*)At times with money in hand a *chhota saudagar* could become a *bara Saudagar*. The merchant community was probably quite abundant. There were 84 castes or sub-castes of Hindu merchants, besides their counterparts among Muslims at Ahmedabad. [13]

1.2 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

- To assess the influence of geographical parameters on the evolutions of trading towns during the Mughal Empire
- To assess that how specialization of commodities gave birth to different types of market during the Mughal Era.
- To assess the current status of these trading towns

1.3 HYPOTHESIS

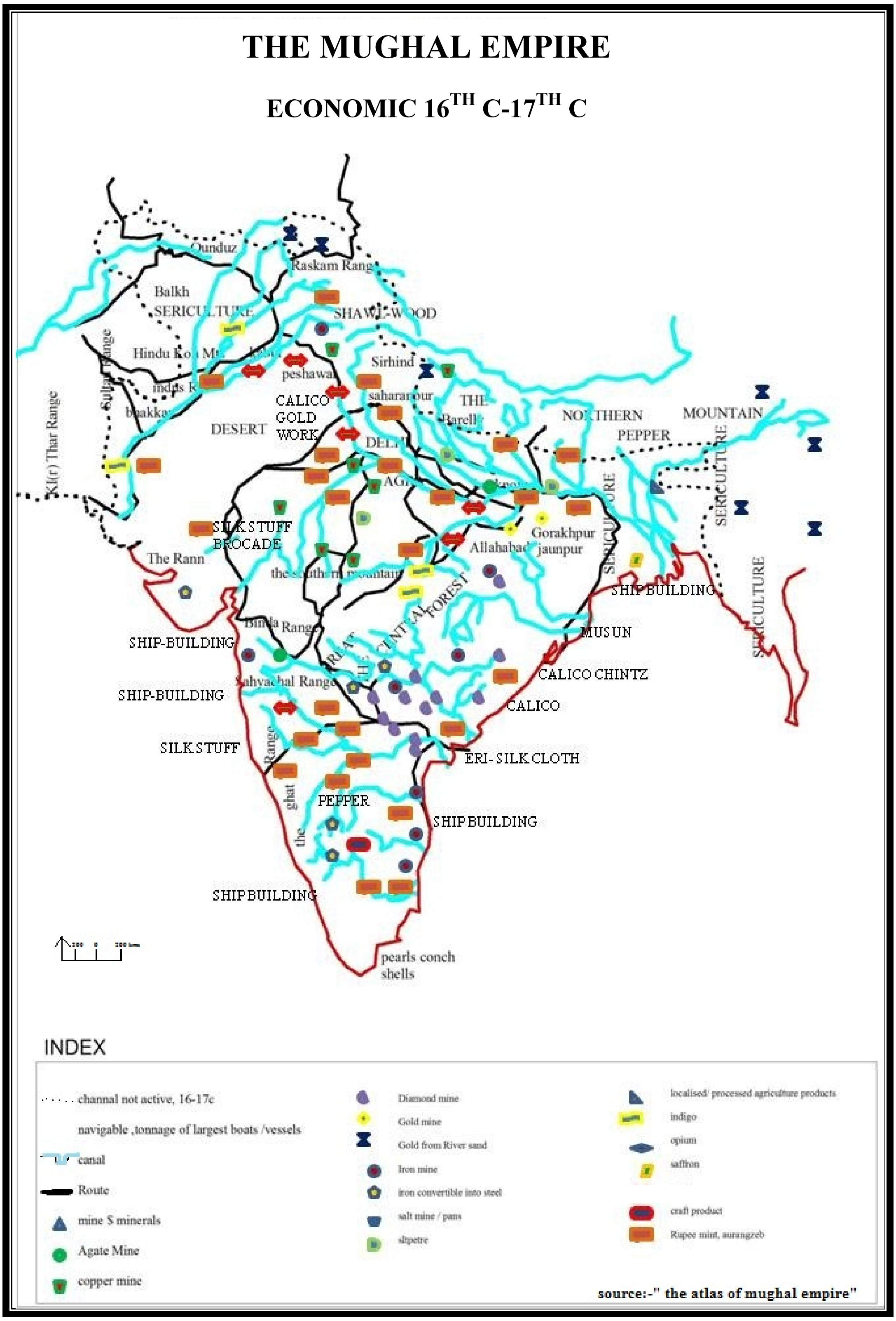
- Historically urban centres of India are evolutionary in nature

[13] Ibid,pp.36-40



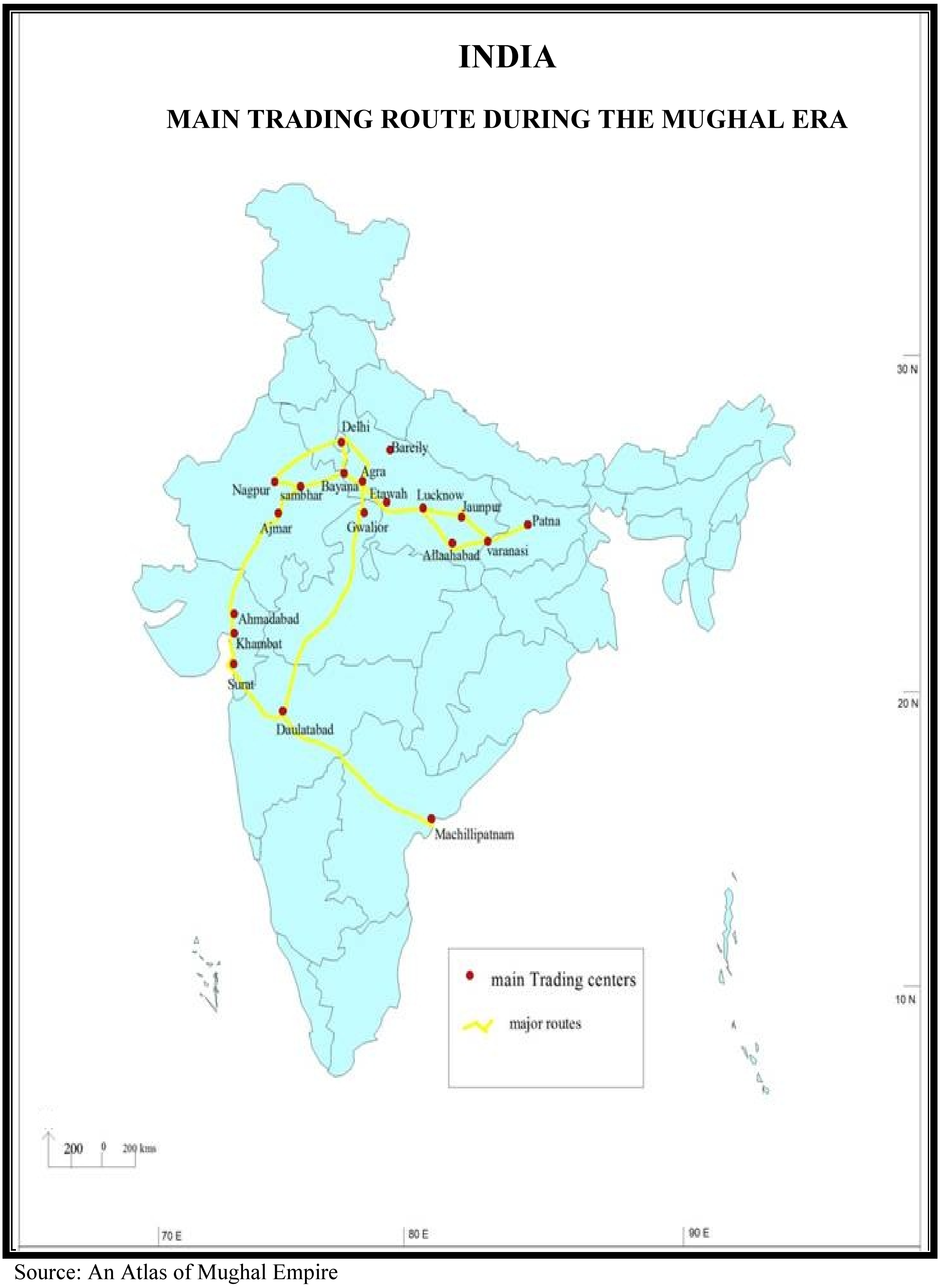
Source: An Atlas of the Mughal Empire

Map1.1: The Mughal Empire Political, 1601



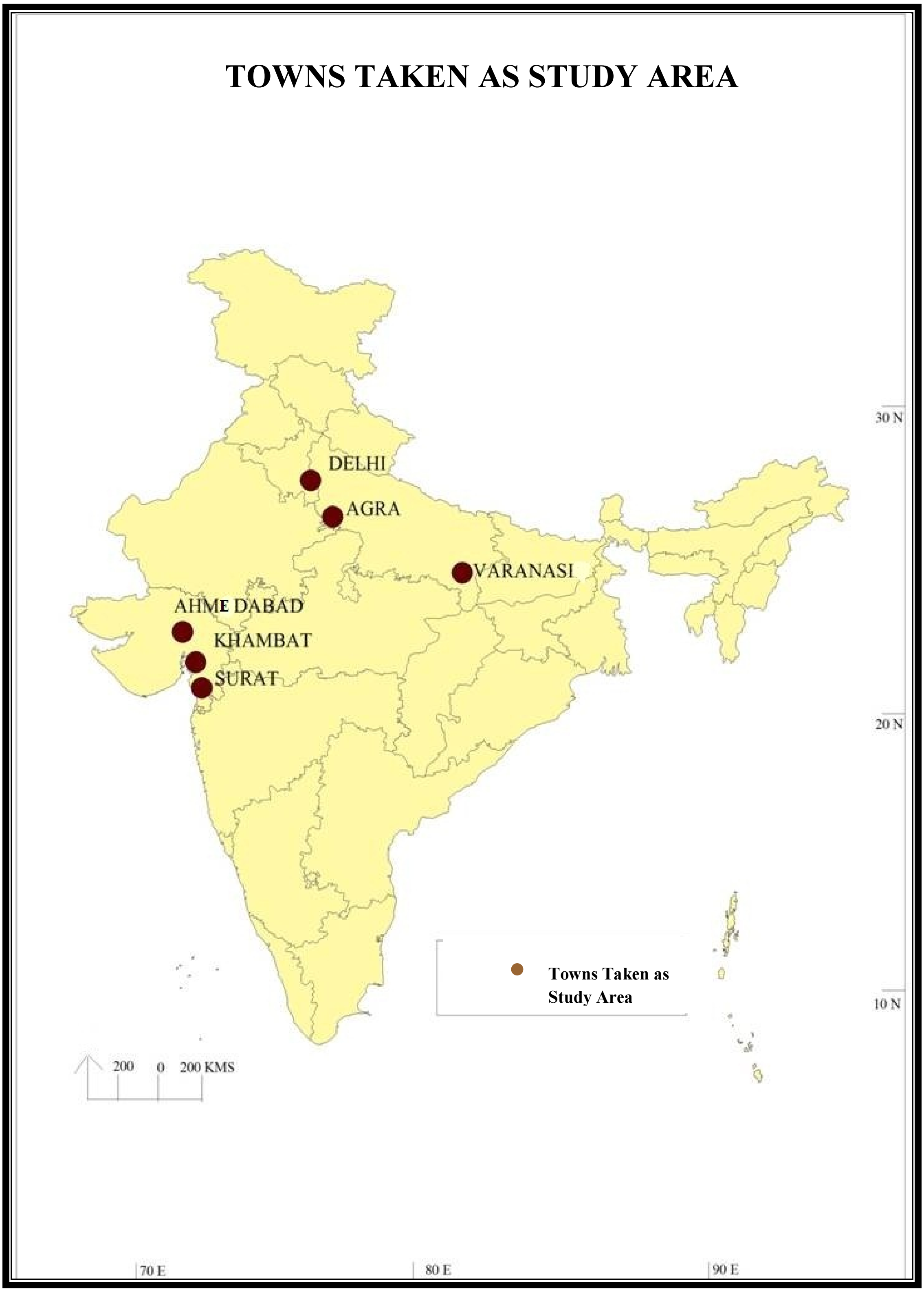
Source: An Atlas of Mughal Empire

Map 1.2: Mughal Empire Economic, 16th and 17th Century



Source: An Atlas of Mughal Empire

Map 1.3: Main Trading Route during the Mughal Era



Map 1.4: Study Area

1.4 STUDY AREA

Six prosperous and important towns which fell on the main trading route of the Mughal empire have been selected for the study, they are Delhi, Agra, Ahmedabad, Varanasi (Banaras) Khambat (Cambay), Surat.These towns belonged to different categories of towns, Agra and Delhi the capital cities, Agra and Ahmedabad acting as the entrepots of the Empire. Khambat and Surat were the port towns and Varanasi was the famous religious as well as the important trading centre regarding the cotton textiles. Towns belonging to different categories have been selected so as to present an overall description of the structure of towns existing during the period of the study.

1.5 DATA SOURCES

- Both primary and secondary sources have been studied .primary data here is the Archival data.
- Census data 2001 for the current status of the towns.
- Books and journals.
- Websites

1.6 METHODOLOGY AND TECHNIQUES

Cartographic techniques have been used to represent the data. Arcview software has been used for creation of maps, Furthermore data has been represented with the help of, bargraphs and other such diagrams. In all the above techniques the used data was first collected from different sources then it was tabulated, calculated according to the technique used and subsequently the results were analyzed.

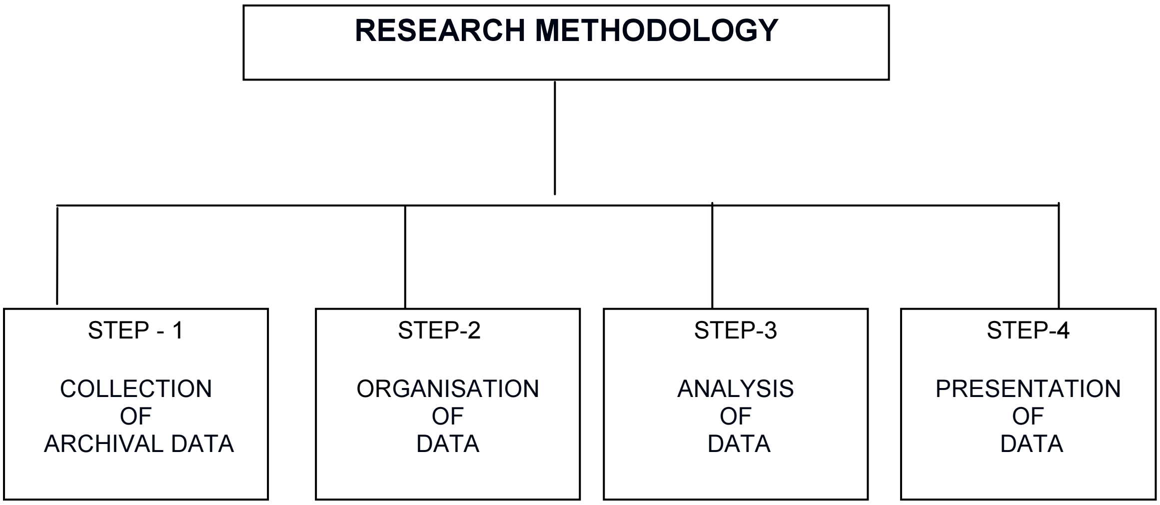


Figure 1.1: Research Methodology

1.7 LITERATURE REVIEW

Bhattacharya (2006)[14] in his book urban development in India: since pre historical times gives a detailed account_of the urban development during the medieval periods within which he tries to elaborate upon the urban setup from the medieval period to the end of the Muslim rule. He provides further information regarding the different trading centre which was existing and the views of different writers such as *Abul Fazl, Thevenot, Manucci* about the nature and characteristics of these towns and cities.

Blake (1991) in his work discusses about the weberian line of argument, faintly expanded to swot the nature of the state in the Mughal India. He writes, Weberian portrayal of the beginning, organisation and decline of the patrimonial state is the most effusive realised endeavour yet to analyse traditional politics.This study illuminates how Asian capitals were not the huge unstructured agglomerations illustrated by Marx and Weber. It makes an effort to convincingly show that Indian cities in common and Shahjahanabad in particular was no jerky Imperial camp, to a certain extent it was a permanent base of the Mughal Emperor and his officers, politically potent, economically vigorous and culturally blossoming.

---

[14] Bhattacharya B.B. "*Urban Development in India (since pre historic times)*" Concept Publishing company, New Delhi, 2006.

Census of India (2001) the towns and urban agglomeration issue classifies the different towns according to census classification and provides the status of the towns in India.

Chaudhuri K.N[15] (1978) in his book covers a wide geographical area and a wide time span. He has taken the Indian Ocean and the extensive geographical region around it as a unit and covers a whole millennium-from the rise of Islam in the seventh century to the middle of eighteenth century. In terms of themes diverse issues have been dealt with issues such as the role of merchants, the cultural role of trade, social attributes towards the sea, the wind system, the technology of and the regional specialisation in ship building, the bond between land and the sea, the role of urbanisation etc.

Habib (1982) [16] in his book has made an in-depth study of historical geography. On 32 sheet maps he has incorporated almost all the relevant information regarding politico-administrative divisions, administrative centres and the economic products of seventeen century. Out of these as many as 26 are devoted to the area covered by the Mughal Empire and only 6 pertain to southern India. By incorporating southern India Habib has drawn attention of scholars working on these regions to imbalance, which is mainly due to little work undertaken on south India, a lacuna which has been filled by extensive utilization of temple inscription and local records.

Habib(1963)[17] in his writing has covered a lot of issues providing tremendous information's while covering the agricultural production, trade in agriculture produce, material conditions of the life of peasantry, the peasant and the land, the village community, zamindars, the land revenue, etc. Many of his exciting findings result from his ability to uncover the intention of the authors of his primary sources.

Moosvi (1987)[18] in her book presents the most detailed examination yet in quantitative terms of the structural composition of the Mughal Imperial economy. The

---

15 K.Chaudhari, The trading world of Asia and the English East India Company,1660-1760(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1978)

16 Irfan Habib (1982), An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, Oxford University Press, New Delhi

17 Irfan Habib (1963), The Agrarian System of Mughal India (1556-1707), Asia Publishing House, New York.

18 Shireen Moosvi (1987), The Economy of the Mughal Empire.C.1595: A Statistical Study, Oxford University Press, Delhi

rich statistical data relating to the 1590s contained in Abul Fazal classic A-in –Akbari form the bed rock of this monumental study. It gives a detailed account of the Mughal economy and stands as a valuable reference work on the macro economy of early modern India.

Singh (2007)[19] in his work talks about towns during the Mughal Empire and its main institutions. Besides dealing with the physic–administrative-cum-economic structure of the towns, It investigates in to the organisation, functioning and economic importance of the Mughal urban institutions such as market, mint and the port. Geographically it takes in to account the territorial limitations of the Mughal empire.

The study further reveals that the simplified theories of Mughal-urban life that the towns then were either few, or only military camps, are no longer sustainable. Towns and cities in Mughal India, according to the needs of the time, were in sufficient numbers.

Naqvi (1968)[20] explains that how the Mughal cities, at least the major ones were independent living entities, with a sound economic base. She flatly refutes the views of the parasitic Indian cities, with evident of its great industrial productivity. She also gives a detailed account of the manufacturing and trading procedure in several industries; Cotton textiles, iron, copper, salt, sugar and paper. She has thoroughly combed the sources particularly the Persian records and the accounts of the European travellers. Through her descriptions she has provided an important revisionist perspective on urbanisation in Mughal India.

Richards (1993)[21] elaborates upon the kind of trading pattern which existed during the Mughal Era also he also gives a sequential and detailed account of the growth and decline of the medieval India.

---

19 M.P Singh (2007),Town, Market, Mint and Port in the Mughal Empire(2007):Adam Publishing House. New Delhi

20 Hameeda Khatoon Naqvi (1968), Urban Centers and Industries in Upper India 1556-1803, Asia Publishing House, Bombay

21 Richards, John F. The New Cambridge History of India, II.5: The Mughal Empire Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Tapan Ray Chaudrahuri & Irfan Habib (1982)[22] in their book given a geographical introduction to north India and south India, describe the material into two chronological block: 1200-1500 and 1500–1750. For the first period there are sections on north India under the sultanate, on south India during the Vijaywada period and on the maritime commerce of the subcontinent. The much larger section devoted to the second period consists of essays on the role of state, agrarian relation and land revenue, system of agricultural and non agricultural production. They have discussed about inland trade, foreign commerce and monetary system and price movement.

Trivedi K.K (1998)[23] gives a detailed account of the Agra Suba during the medieval era and also talks about its grandeur and power. He describes Agra as one of the biggest city of the Mughal 'empire, 'tower ring over the other townships.

Verma (1989)[24] states that among the Mughal kings Akbar took Keen interest in town building and he tried to incorporate all those factors which were necessary through the consolidation of empire and urbanization was one of the major items on his agenda because he was of the opinion that the vast territories could properly be governed through the deputies appointed by the emperor in a series of well dispersed towns located at strategically appropriate points. Thus, the foundation of the new towns and resuscitation of the older ones was undertaken primarily due to the stress of political necessity.

W.H. Moreland (1962)[25] in his work gives a detailed account of the country and people about the year 1595. He provides detailed information on production, administration, and on different classes and he also gives information about the period when the Portuguese has wanted from Muslim the premier place on the Indian seas. Also he talks about the different ports which existed during the time of Akbar. The author also describes the importance of spices and very interestingly portrays a detailed picture of the Mughal India.

---

22 Tapan Ray Chaudhuri & Irfan Habib (1982), The Cambridge Economic History of India Volume 1:c.1200-c.1750, Cambridge University Press, England

23 Trivedi, K. K., Agra: Economic and Political Profile of Mughal Suba 15801707, Pune 1998

24 Verma, S. S., Urbanization' and regional development in India, Allahabad, 1989.

25 Moreland, W.H. India at the Death of Akbar, 1: An Economic Study. N.p.: 1920. Reprint. Delhi: Atma Ram, 1962.

W.H. Moreland (1929)[26] through his excellent work gives an account of revenue system of the Mughal India and he further describes the decay of the system and especially the rise of the intermediaries between the government and the Ryot.

Lewis Mumford (1961)[27] sees the ancestors of urban institutions in the graves and the caves of Palaeolithic peoples and in the transformation of the role of hunter into that of king. When the cultures of the Neolithic village and the Palaeolithic hunting band fused, he suggests, cities were born. Romans with their more sophisticated tools and ships built towns throughout the Mediterranean basin and supported them with the gains from trade and with taxes. In ancient times, on the other hand, intensive urbanisation in Europe was limited to lands with no trouble reached by ship from the heart of the urban network in the eastern Mediterranean. The Rhine and the Danube marked the effective limits of Roman colonization in central Europe, and both England and northern Gaul (France) had only small urban populations.

Nevertheless, towns stand out as islands of secular rationality and acquisitiveness in medieval society. The urban order remained subordinate to the hierarchical agrarian regimes that stretched across Europe. Despite its limitations, the feudal mode of production generated the surpluses that supported urbanisation. Politically, landed elites asserted power in and over the multiplying cities, although they increasingly could not do without these subjects. Cities offered to both the elites and the masses goods and services that were soon found indispensable, and in the process became significant autonomous political actor in the power struggles of the middle ages. Lords founded towns to consolidate their control over a region. Kings used urban wealth and literacy to reinforce the claims of royal authority against rebellious vassals. The church, whose bishops had sustained what urban continuity there was with ancient times, made towns the centres of religious ritual and education. Medieval modes of rule, thought and production required cities, although spiritual and temporal elites fought to keep the subversive urban orders dependent and under control.

26 W.H.Moreland The Agrarian System of Moslem India, Cambridge, Heffer (UK) 1929.

27 Paul M.Hohenberg, Lynn Hollen Lees, The making of Urban Europe 1000-1950,Harvard University press 1985

Even the pastoral societies at the fringes of the European continent central places that filled urban functions, while in the limited core cities actually contested for dominance. Medieval urbanization flourished in the long period of expansion between roughly 1000 and 1300, and longer in eastern Europe. The generations who lived in towns or produced for them also merit our attention.

Mumford (1961)[28] has given us two images of the medieval town: the container and the magnet. Towns attracted and secured their population, drew and held them. A much older symbol for the city is a cross enclosed in a circle. As Lopez points out, the "*crossroads within a wall*" embodies a paradox: the city closes itself off from the rural environment in order to enlarge the scope and intensity of communication with the wider world. Functional definitions of medieval urbaneness are more useful than ones formulated simply in terms of size, because the economic and political organization of cities set them apart so markedly from the surrounding countryside. Medieval Leicester was predominantly a regional marketplace, serving as the commercial centre of the county and as a producer of staples, such as bread and beer, for residents. But by the late twelfth century, woollen cloth in substantial amounts was manufactured and sold outside the town. Although this industry soon declined, the town's merchants remained major exporters of wool, and both tanning and leatherwork flourished in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Barel (1977)[29] argues that the Medieval town was very much a part of the feudal society. Its origin was frequently promoted by the lord. Spiritual or temporal, as a means of establishing or consolidating a degree of power. The scope of the town's freedom varied inversely with the power of the territorial authority. Where the overlord was weak cities developed in to city-states and extended their political control over as much as the surrounding land as they could dominate. The political functions of medieval towns must be seen in three different contexts therefore: internal governance, relationship to a territorial authority, and administrative control

---

[28] Paul M.Hohenberg,Lynn Hollen Lees, The making of Urban Europe 1000-1950, Harvard University press 1985

[29] Paul M.Hohenberg,Lynn Hollen Lees, The making of Urban Europe 1000-1950,Harvard University press 1985

over a hinterland. All were linked to a precarious balance of autonomy and dependence that constantly shifted according to the identities of other players in the European political game. Weak distracted rulers and neighbours encouraged urban political freedom and expansion, while royal centralisation limited urban power.

The first chapter gives an introduction of the study in which the aims and objectives, hypothesis and methodology are included it also includes a small literature review which gives an insight to the research.

The first chapter elaborates upon the glory and grandeur of the Mughal Empire, it explains how the glory of the Mughal empire was proverbial, that there was a continuous movement of man, money and resources which led to a strong interaction within the Mughal Empire .The desire of governing a strong political empire by the Mughals gave birth to a series of Urban centres in different parts of the empire for effective control. Towns performed different types of functions by becoming either administrative or commercial or religious centres. And it shows how for nearly one hundred and seventy years (1556-1719) the Mughal Empire remained a dynamic, centralized,-complex organization. There was trade not only within the Empire but with the outside world also.

The second chapter gives the geographical profile of the all towns which have been selected as the study area (Agra, Ahmedabad, Banaras, Cambay, Delhi, Surat) wherein climatic factors such as rainfall, temperature, relief and vegetation has been taken in to account as to develop a strong relationship between the development of these towns and the role of geographical factors in their development.

The third chapter gives a detailed description of the structure of towns during Mughal Era; It gives the reason as to why the towns started coming up during the Mughal Era, that how they had welcomed and in a way had inaugurated an era of centralized power i.e. centralized government over a vast territory to govern an effective rule over the empire, the emperors needed effective urban centres which could be used as different administrative divisions for covering an allotted area under its jurisdiction so that there is effective law and order therefore considering this point as their major agenda potentialities of different areas was recognized to make these areas huge urban

centres and therefore after the thirteenth century various towns started appearing in different directions.

The chapter further gives a classification of the towns which existed during the Mughal Era, the different types of towns which existed at that time and possibly four types of towns which existed that time are first, primarily administrative centres where industry, commerce and even ecclesiastical sanctity developed in its wake such as the capital cities tough in the course of time there administrative significance, for example Agra was sometimes overshadowed by their non–administrative significance

Secondly commercial towns such as Patna where administrative aspect followed the commercial activities, Thirdly, centre of pilgrimage such as Banaras, where the proximity to river facilitated commercial intercourse and constant crowding of pilgrims attracted crafts and service personnel from the neighbouring districts or even further off region. Finally there were towns which had risen because of some distinction achieved.

The study area includes Agra, Ahmedabad, Banaras, Delhi, Cambay and Surat. The chapter then gives a detailed description of the towns; it also informs about the various popular commodities of that time, indigo, salt peter, quilts, sugar, quick silver, paper, spices, asafoetida, leather goods, opium, dried ginger. It also talks about the famous cotton textiles of the different towns of that time. The popular cotton textiles were calico, chintz, bafta, chautar, ghazi, sahan, etc. The chapter also deals with one of the objective of the study that how specialization of commodities gave birth to different types of markets, indeed during the Mughal era one town was different from other but the most interesting thing comes in the shape of the economic morphology which was very apparent within one town and this was very well marked in Delhi, there were different types of markets existing , different markets for keeping different sorts of goods for ex the Nakhas was a daily market place where cotton and slaves were sold, both wholesale and retail. Gunges were usually the grain markets, Mandavis were markets of goods, usually provision or grains, a katra was an enclosed market. It gives a description about the various types of markets that existed during that period ranging from emporias to hats.

The chapter four talks about the Mughal administration. It gives a detailed description about the power structure during the Mughal Empire. It gives an account of the various ministers and also talks about the Mansabdari system and tries to bring out the characteristics of a South-Asian specific administration.

Chapter 2

Geographical Profile of the Study Area

CHAPTER -2

GEOGRAPHICAL PROFILE OF THE STUDY AREA

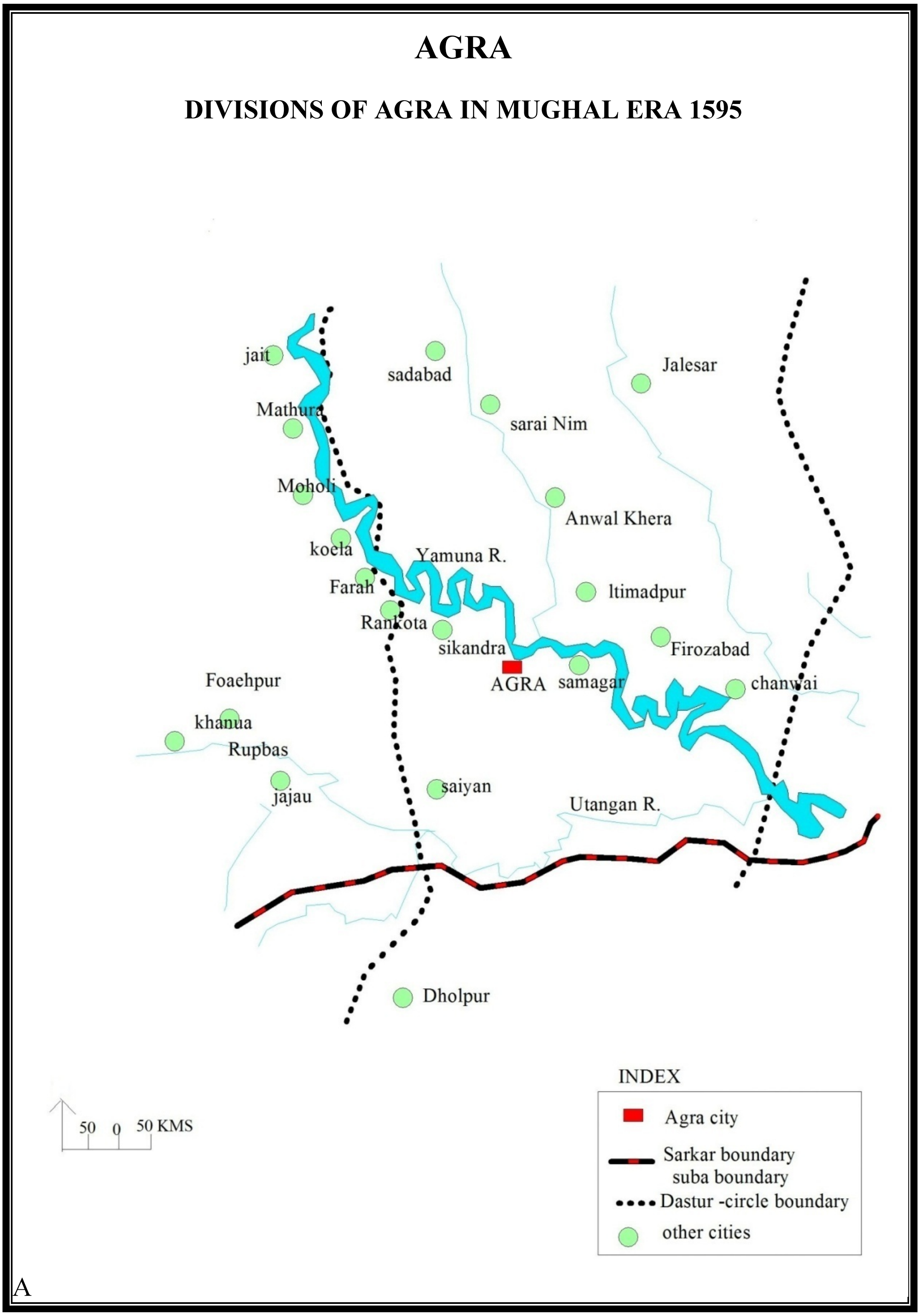
2.1 AGRA

Administrative headquarters of Agra district, united provinces, situated in **27°10'**and **78°3'** on the right bank of river Jamuna, 1356.6 kms by rail from Calcutta and 1350.24 kms from Bombay. It is bounded in the north by Mathura and Etah and on the east by Mainpuri and Etawah; on the south lies the native states of Gwalior and Dholpur and on the west Bharatpur.

It is divided into four different tracts by the rivers Jamuna, Utangan, or Banganga and Chambal. Northeast of the Jamuna, which crosses the district with a very winding course from northwest to south east, lies two tehsils with an upland area of productive loam, separated from the river by a network of ravines which are of little use except for grazing.

The greater part of the district lies southwest of Jamuna and north of its tributaries the Utangan. This tract is remarkable for the uniformity of its soil, which is generally a fertile loam, with little clay or sand. The ravines of the two great rivers, and of the khari nadi, which flows into the Utangan are the chief breaks, while in the west of Fatehpursikri a few ranges of low rocky hills. The district is almost entirely occupied by the Gangetic alluvium, which conceals all the older rocks, except in the west and southwest, where ridges of upper Vindhyan sandstone rise out of the plain. Leopards and hyenas are found in the ravines and in the western hills while wolves are common near the Jamuna and ravine deer frequent the same haunts. Antelope are to be seen in most part of the district.[1]

[1] Imperial Gazetteer of India, volume 4, pp.71-90



Source: An Atlas of the Mughal Empire

Map 2.1: Divisions of Agra in 1595

2.2 AHMEDABAD

It is situated in **23°2'N and 72°35'E**, 310 miles by rail from Bombay, and about 80 kms N of the head of the Gulf of The Cambay. The general appearance of the district shows that at no very remote period it was covered with sea. The tract between the head of the Gulf of Cambay and the Rann of Kutch is still subject to overflow at high tides. In the extreme south, and also just beyond, are a few rocky hills.

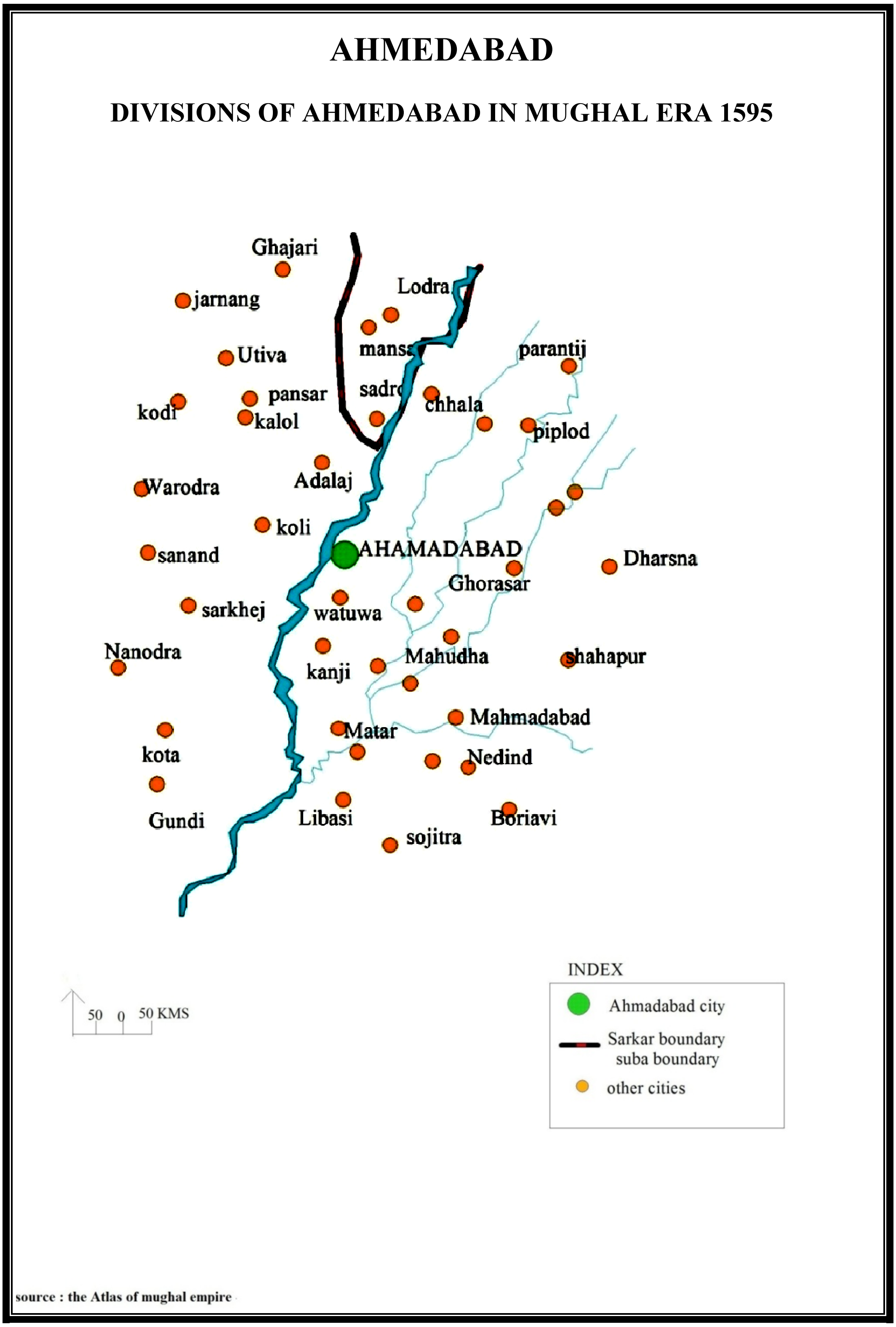
But between these points the hole of the district forms very level plains, gradually rising towards the north and east, its surface unbroken by any inequality greater than a sand hill. The chief physical features is the river Sabarmati which rises in the northeast, near the extremity of the Aravali range, and flows towards the south west, falling finally into the Gulf of Cambay.

The river has three tributaries; the khari, meshwa, and majham all flow southwest. The district is occupied mostly by alluvial plains. The superficial covering of Alluvium is, however of no great thickness. The underline strata probably include tertiary and cretaceous sediments, resting on a sub stratum of gneiss and possibly slate.

The district as a whole is open and poorly wooded. The chief trees are Mango, Rayan (mimusops hexandra), Mahua and Neem. Tigers are almost extinct. Leopards are found in modasa, and wolves in the low lying salt lands near the nal. Wild hog are common.[2]

---

[2] Ibid. Vol. 4, pp.93-110



Source: An Atlas of Mughal Empire

Map 2.2: Divisions of Ahmedabad in Mughal Era 1595

2.3 BANARAS/VARANASI

Headquarters of Banaras district united provinces with cantonment is situated in **25° 18'N** and **83°1'E** on the left bank of Ganges; distant by rail from Calcutta 770 km, and from Bombay 1514 km. The city is the second largest in the united provinces. The district is part of the alluvial valley deposited by the river Ganges, and its forms an irregular parallelogram, divided by the sacred streams.

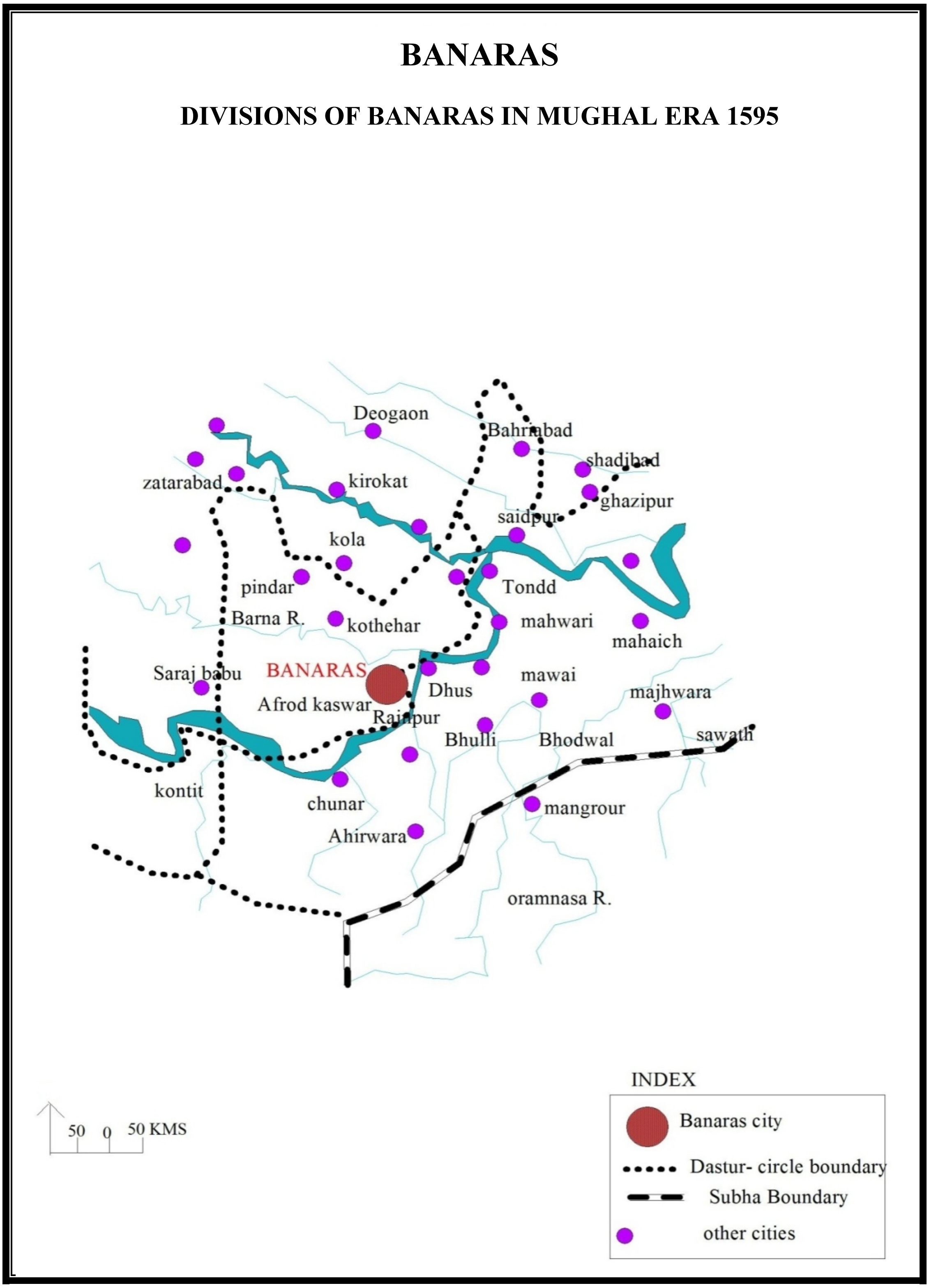
On each bank of the river is found a high ridge of coarse gravelly soil, mixed with kankar or nodular limestone and scored by ravines. East of the Ganges the surface dipped rapidly, and a large portion of this tract is under water during the rains, and it's generally marshy. On the opposite bank the level is more uniformly maintained. The Ganges first touches the district on the southern boundaries, and after crossing it in a series of bold curves.

With general directions from southwest to north east, leaves the northern border, at the point there it receives the Gomti, which forms the northern boundaries for about 35.4 km. The district contains many small marshy lakes or jhils, some of which attain a length of several miles during the rains, but most of them are almost dry in the summer.

Banaras lies entirely in the Gangetic alluvium, and kankar is the only stones found, saline efflorescence called Reh are not uncommon, especially in the chandauli tehsil. The flora of the district presents no peculiarities.

The mango and bamboos are largely planted, and fine groves are numerous. Fruit is also largely grown, and Banaras is famous for its mangoes and guavas. Owing to the absence of uncultivated land, the wild animals found here are not important. A few antelope are seen northeast of the Ganges; wild fowl congregate in numbers on the river.[3]

[3] Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. 7,pp. 1-13



Source: An Atlas of the Mughal Empire

Map 2.3: Divisions of Banaras in Mughal Era 1595

2.4 CAMBAY/KHAMBAT

Feudatory state in the political Agencies of Kaira, Bombay, lying at the head of the gulf of the same name in the western part of the province of Gujarat, between **22°9'** and **22°41'** N, and **72° 20'** and **73°5' E**, with an area of 563 kms square miles.

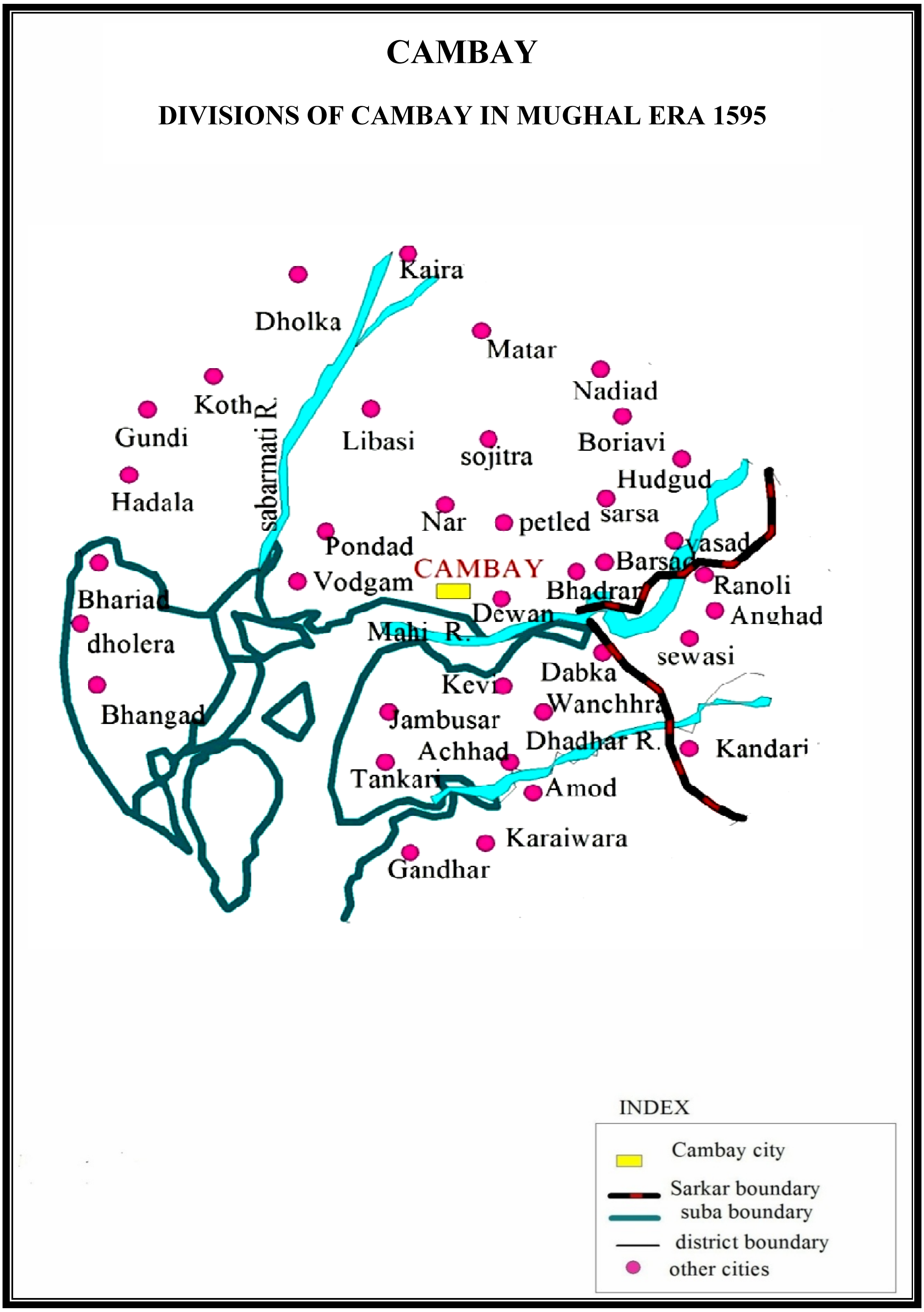
It is bounded on the north by the District of Kaira; on the east by Kaira and Baroda; on the south by the Gulf of Cambay and on the west by the Sabarmati River separating it from Ahmedabad. The boundaries of the State are very irregular; some villages belonging to the Gaikwar of Baroda and to the British Government are entirely surrounded by Cambay territory, while Cambay villages are found in the Kaira District.

The country is flat and open, interspersed here and there, generally in the vicinity of the villages with groves of fine trees, such as the mango, tamarind, banyan or bar, neem and papal. From the position of the state between the Sabarmati and Mahi, both of which are tidal rivers, the soil is so soaked with salt that the water becomes brakish at a little distance below the surface.

Cambay is a gentle, undulating, alluvial, and plain without any rock exposure. The fauna does not differ from that of the neighbouring British District of Kaira, through the former presence of tigers in large number is said to be indicated by the site of a village named Vagh Talao or Tiger tank. The climate is equable, the temperature rising to **108°** in May, when minimum is **75°,** and falling as low as **46°** in January, at which seasons **84°** is the maximum. The annual rainfall averages 31 inches.[4]

---

[4] Imperial Gazetteer of India , vol. 9, pp292-298



Source: An Atlas of the Mughal Empire

Map 2.4: Division of Cambay in Mughal Era 1595

2.5 DELHI

Headquarters of the Delhi division, district, and tehsil, Punjab former capital of the Mughal Empire, situated in **28°39' N.** and **77°15'E**, The name should be written Dilli or Dhili and is said to be derived from an eponymous Raja Dilu or Dhilu. The district is bounded on the north by Karnal; on the east by the river Jamuna, which separates it from the District s of Merut and Bulandshahr in the United Provinces; on the south by Gurgaon; and on the west by Rohtak. The northern portion, like most of the alluvial plains or Upper India, is divided into khaddar, or river in a strip of land joining the Jamuna, and the drier and sandier upland known as the banger. Through monotonous in appearance, this latter tract is well wooded, and being traversed by the western Jamuna channel, is fertile in the extreme. A prolongation of the Aravalli Hills enters Delhi from Gurgaon on the southern border and immediately expands into a rocky table land, about three miles in breadth, running in north easterly directions nearly across the District.

Ten miles south of the city the range divides into branches, one of which turning sharply to the south west, re enters the border at Gurgaon; while the other continuing its northerly course as a low, narrow range of sandstone passes west of Delhi city where it forms the historic Ridge and finally terminates on the right bank of the Jamuna. The table-land nowhere attains an elevation f more than 500 feet above the lowlands at its base; but its surface consists of barren rock, too destitute of water for the possibility of cultivation, even in the few rare patches of level soil. The Jamuna before reaching the borders of the District has been so completely drained of its waters for the two older canals which it feeds, that it forms only narrow streams, fordable at almost any points, except during the rains.

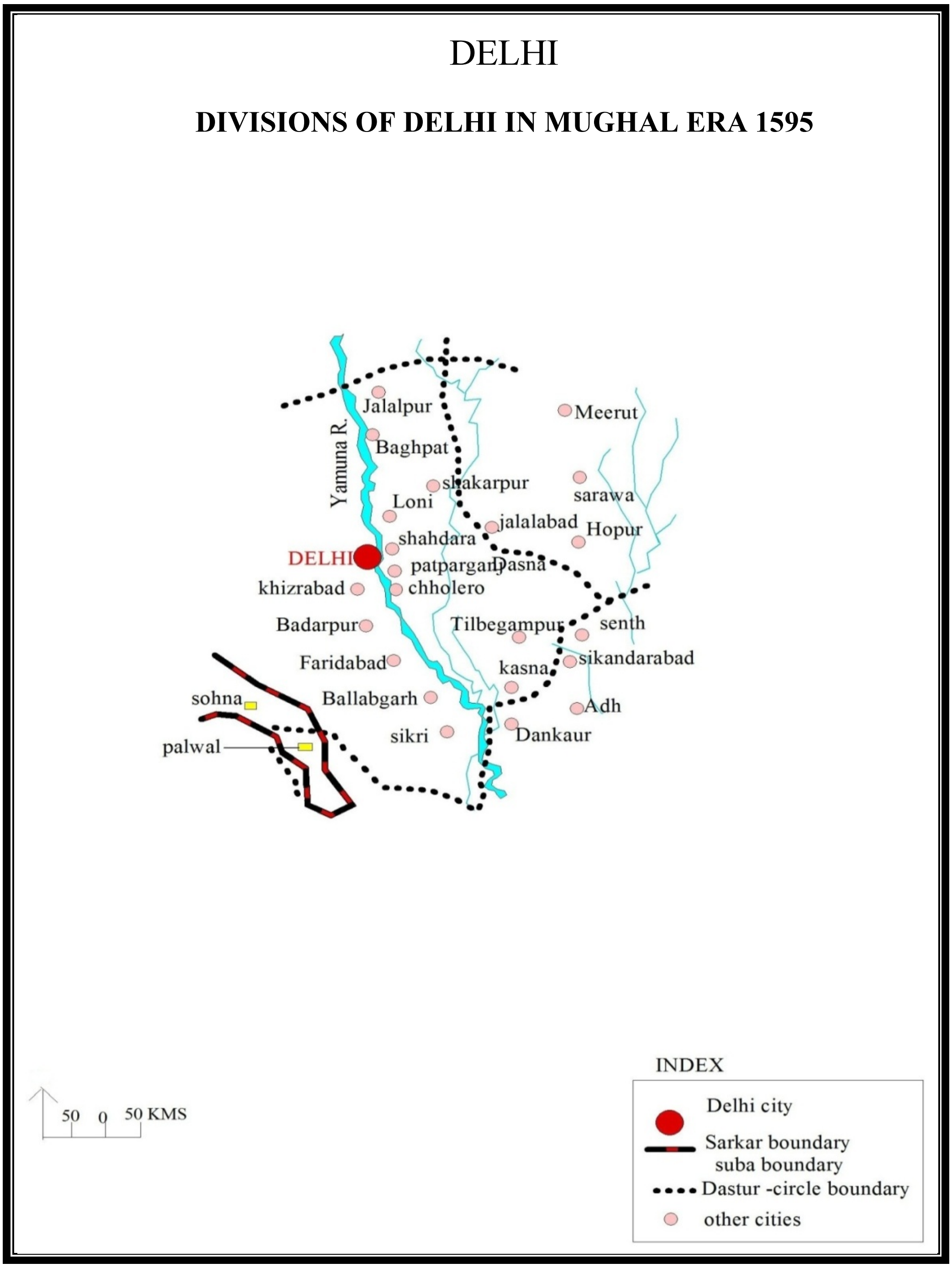
The greatest part of the Districts lies on the alluvium; but the small hills and ridges, which bound to the south of Delhi, consist of outliers of Alwar quartzite belonging to the Delhi System of the transition group of peninsular India. The Ridge at Delhi is composed of the same rock. The natural Vegetation is that of the drier part of the Upper Gangetic plain, with an element akin to that of North East Rajputana while traces of an ancient Deccan flora are found on and near the low spur which ends in the

ridge at Delhi. The Mango and other sub tropical species are cultivated in gardens and along canals and road sides; but large trees, except where planted are comparatively scarce and the kinds that reproduce themselves spontaneously are probably in most cases, not native of the District. Wolves are not uncommon and leopards are occasionally met with. Hog are painful all along the Jamuna. Antelope are becoming scarce while Nilgai and hog deer are practically extinct. Ravine deer (Indian Gazelle) are found in the low hills.

The cold season is much like that of the Punjab; proper but ends a fortnight sooner than at Lahore. Hot west winds blow steadily till the end of June, when plentiful rain is expected. October brings cool night and the beginning of the feverish seasons, which is always very unhealthy. The average mean temperature of January is **57**°**,** of April **85**°**,** of June **97**° and of September **87**°**.**

The annual rainfall varies from 21 ½ inches at Ballabgarh to 28 at Delhi. Of the rainfall at the latter place 25 inches fall in the summer month and 3 in winter. The greatest rainfall recorded during the twenty years ending 1901 was 48 inches at Delhi in 1884-85 and the least one fifth of an inch at mahrauli in 1896-7.[5]

[5] Ibid, vol. 12, pp. 223-238



Source: An Atlas of the Mughal Empire

Map 2.5: Division of Delhi in Mughal Empire 1595

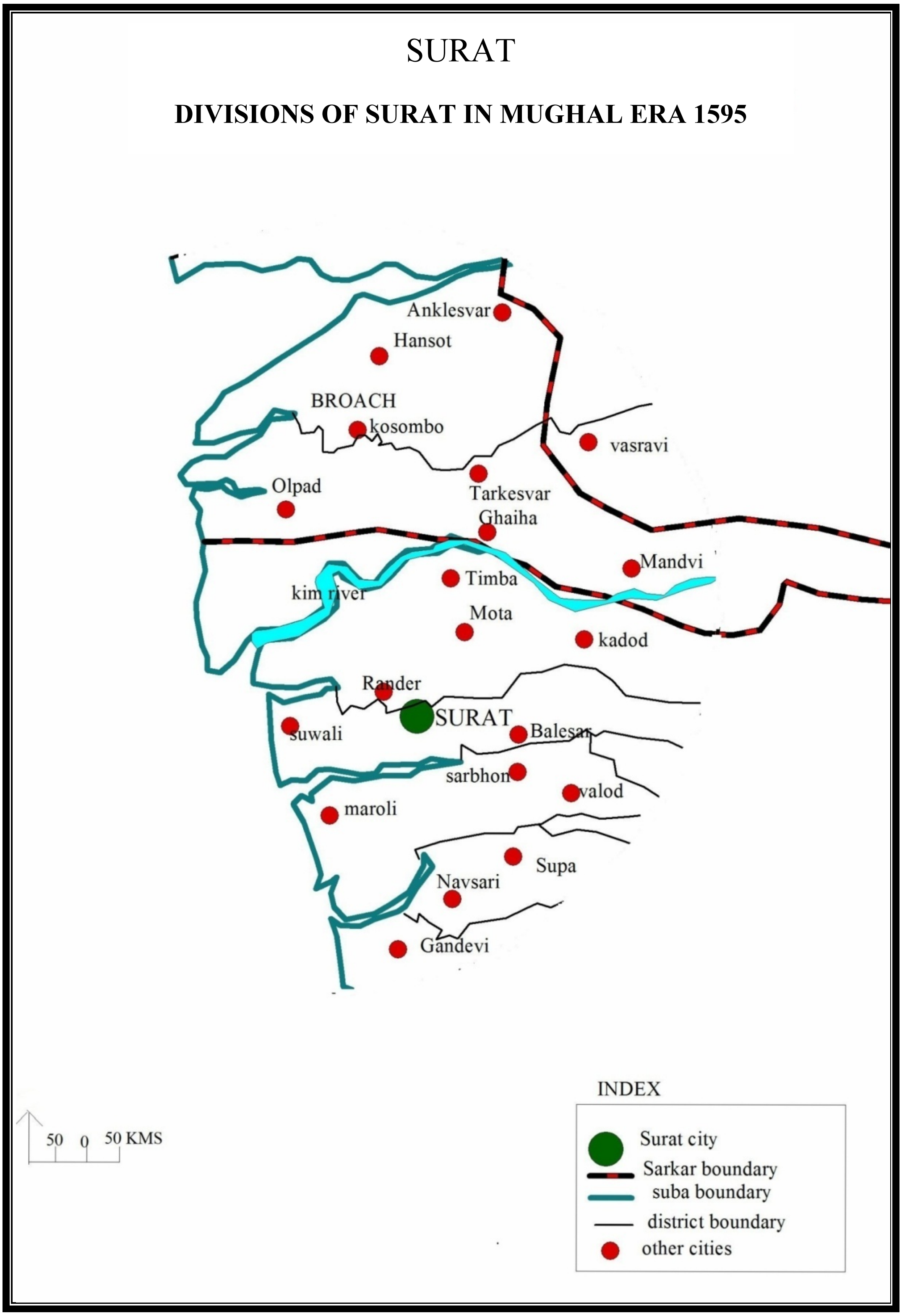
2.6 SURAT

It is situated on the perennial river of river Tapti and is a famous port city of Gujarat; the city is located at **21.17**°**N, 72.83**°E and has an average elevation of 13 mts. The climate is tropical and monsoon is abundant.

The city is famous for diamond cutting. The mangoes of some Surat gardens approach the Bombay 'Alphonso' and 'pairi' in flavour and sweetness. There are no good timber trees. The Babul is found in small bushes in most part of the district springing up freely in fields set apart for the cultivation of grass Wild flowering plant are not numerous, the commonest being Hibiscus, Abutilon, Sida, Clerodendron, Phlomis, Salvadora, Celosia, and Leuca..

The fauna of Surat includes a few tigers, stragglers from the jungles of Bansda, and Dharampur, beside Leopards (which are found throughout the district) bears wild hog, wolves, hyenas, spotted deer, and antelope. Other and grey foxes are also met with. Duck, wild geese, teal, and other wild-fowl abound during the cold seasons on the ponds and reservoirs; and hares, partridges, and quail are common.[6]

6 Ibid, vol. 23, pp. 150-164



Source: An Atlas of the Mughal Empire

Map 2.6: Division of Surat in Mughal Era 1595

Chapter 3

Structure of the Trading Towns in Medieval Mughal India

CHAPTER 3

STRUCTURE OF THE TRADING TOWNS IN MEDIEVAL MUGHAL INDIA

3.1 NATURE OF MEDIEVAL MUGHAL TOWNS

Just like the other regimes in India, Medieval Mughal India also witnessed the appearance of towns and cities .But the distinction between the earlier times and in this period was that the latter had grown with much greatness. Mughal India possessed an urban population which was far beyond its size in terms of its cultural as well as economic magnitude. The cities and towns of the subcontinent fulfilled varied and overlapping roles[1]. The largest were booming centres of manufacturing and marketing, banking and entrepreneurial activities, intersection in a network of communications by land and water which crossed and re crossed the subcontinent and extended far beyond to the south east Asia , to the Middle East, to western Europe and elsewhere.[2]

It becomes imperative to look in to the reasons as to why there was an increase in the size of already existing towns and also what worked as an impetus for the growth and appearance of a number of new towns. The period of the Mughal Empire, or rather of the sixteenth century, seventeenth and part of the eighteenth century, appears to have been out-and-out golden age of urbanization, at least for much of the Northern and central India, there was both an spreading out of the size of the pre-existing cities and towns and a propagation of the new foundations[3].

The pax *Mughallica* added in a number of ways to the gathered pace of urbanisation during the sixteenth and the seventeenth century especially in the north, The political amalgamation of so vast an area under a single ruler unavoidably stimulated commercial and therefore urban life, not least by removing hindrances to the movement of goods and peoples across the frontiers of what had earlier been

---

[1] Tapan Raychaudhuri&Irfan Habib., The Cambridge Economic History of India,Vol 1 c.1200-c,.1750.,p 434

[2] Ibid., pp 434-435

[3] Ibid

adversary and often warning states. Because there was establishment of a centralized empire under the Mughal's, it became easy to trade since the empire was under one ruler and that too a large area was available for traders to trade. The great expansion of commerce during the Mughal period – to be seen most strikingly in the manufacturing and marketing of textiles to meet both an internal and external demand- unavoidably brought swelled wealth to the major urban centres of the country, especially to those cities whose location made them natural entrepots whether by land or by sea[4]. Geographical factors like immediacy to a waterbody also played a vital role. The ports of Surat and Cambay on the west coast now entered upon the period of the great prosperity. There must also have been a substantial growth in the urban population, partly as a result of the inescapable drift from the countryside in to the towns. The reason for this was not the same everywhere or at all times, but the need to meet the manpower to meet the imperative demands of the textile industry was certainly the commonest.

3.2 TYPES OF TOWNS

As far as the urban centres are concerned in the Medieval Mughal India, different types of urban centres came up. But the four distinct types of towns which can be identified are as follows.

First, there were those cities whose leading function was administrative and where other roles manufacturing or sacral were of minor importance too and were partly dependent on the primary role, of such kind were Agra and Delhi.

Secondly, there were those cities enjoying a primarily commercial and manufacturing character, to which might have been attached administrative functions which on the other hand, remained subsidiary to their economic functions. Ahmedabad fell under this category.

Thirdly, there was the case of pilgrimage centres where trade and craft activities were drawn to where there was already an assemblage of both undeviating settled and ephemeral population as in the case of Banaras, conveniently located in relation to the

4 Ibid.,pp.441-442

major river systems of North India. Here the proximity to river assisted commercial intercourse and unvarying crowding of pilgrims fascinated crafts and service recruits from the neighbouring districts or even further off region.

And then were port towns like Cambay and Surat. Among the factors that aided to this process must be declared as the political circumstances approving to expanding economic activity which took birth from the creation of the *Pax Mughalica* , the opening out of both long distance trade within India itself and of India's international trade with a network of Asian and European markets , and ultimately, in response to the latter, an enormous expansion of all aspects of textile manufacturing and marketing. The second point is that within a general structure of urban growth and urban opulence, the rate of growth and the degree of prosperity cannot have been the same everywhere. Some centres flourished more than others; most prominently, those which could gain from river communications and approach to the new and prominent markets of the down river and coastal ports which fed the voracious European demand for Indian goods. thus the textile industries of Banaras profited from the simplicity with which the products of those cities could be floated down the Ganges to the European factories apparently, centres of commerce and manufacturing possessed a *raison deter* far exceeding short lived political turmoil's and uprisings , and yet just because most Indian urban centres depended for their opulence upon political circumstances encouraging to the stable chase of their scrupulous trades and of political insecurity, especially if that insecurity warned to become long specialized craft industries, they could be devastatingly affected by a climate standing or to spread itself over a far reaching area . The blossoming of an urban –based economy and of urban culture during the supremacy of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shahjahan, and for much of supremacy of Aurangzeb, derived largely from the flourishing of political circumstances highly beneficial to commerce and to the trading and artisan classes of the cities[5].

[5] Ibid.,pp.436-438

3.3 PRODUCTION

"*A city may be defined as a place where artisans (pishawar) of various kinds dwell*" This statement by Abu al – Fazl sums up the state of manufacturing in the cities of Mughal India. Non agricultural production was, for the most part, handicraft production and the artisans, craftsmen, and workmen of Shahjahanabad turned out a wide variety of goods. Urban artisans and craftsmen were divided in to two groups. The first group consisted of those people who maintained control over their product until it was sold in the market and included relatively well-to-do artisans who owned their equipments and produced the luxury goods for a limited market as well as poorer artisans who produced ordinary goods for the larger market. The second group included those artisans who had no control over their goods. For these persons, the materials, in some cases, the tools, and the final product remained the property of someone else.[6]

Artisans who have worked under the putting – out system, for example, were not independent. The Textile industry, the largest in the subcontinent, seems to have been organised largely on this basis. Merchants and brokers advanced clothes to weavers, specifying quality, quantity and design. The finished product was collected, paid for and shipped to the consumer and, in many cases, never reached Indian markets. In Shahjahanabad artisans, craftsmen, and service workers were organized in four ways. Goods and Services were produced in Karkhanahs of emperors, Karkhanahs of princes and great amirs, merchant Karkhanahs, and house of independent craftsmen[7].

3.3.1 Imperial Karkhanahs- The households of Mughal emperors contained many Karkhanahs. Abu al – Fazl wrote that Akbar maintained over one hundred and each one of them "*resembled a city or rather a small state*". These were places where work was done, and those in the Imperial household can be divided in to three groups. The first consisted of the workshops dedicated to the needs of the imperial family. Here were stables of horses, elephants, cows, camels, and mules storerooms, workshops

---

[6] Stephen P.Blake., Shahjahanabad : The Sovereign City in Mughal India, 1639-1739 (Cambridge University Press) pp. 105-107

[7] Ibid., pp. 105-107

that produced gold and silver jewellery; departments that cared for widows and the harem and finally kitchen and storerooms for grain, fruit pots and utensils.[8]

The second group turned out goods and services for a public beyond the household. Here were departments for record, construction and labourers. Here was also the household mint. *Karkhanahs* for matchlocks, cannons, and ammunition contained weapons manufactured in the household, bought in the bazaars, and received as gifts.[9]

The third group of the *Karkhanahs* contained the gifts which the emperor presented in the Hall of Ordinary Audience. Princely and great *Amiri Karkhanahs*. In the household of the princes and the great *amirs*, as in the Imperial Household, *mir samans* or *diwans* exercised overall control, treasurers kept the cash, accountants watched collections and disbursements, supervisor maintained horsemen, and *daroghas* managed the *Karkhanahs*. These can also be divided in to two types. The first group included those workshops which provided for the immediate needs of the household. The group of *Karkhanahs* produced, stored and cared for the gifts which princes and great *amirs* presented in the Hall of Ordinary Audience.[10]

3.3.2 Merchant Karkhanahs

In Mughal India there was a clear distinction between merchants and traders, on the one hand and, bankers (*Sarafs*) and moneylenders (*Sahukar*) on the other. Moneylenders put out small sums to peasants, soldiers and traders while bankers accepted deposits issued bills of exchange, and loaned large sums to officials and nobles. Bankers advanced money to the merchants but did not, for the most part, engage in trading activities themselves. In addition to the wealthy wholesale merchants, there seem to have been two other categories of traders in Mughal India. A group of smaller wholesale merchants, cantered in revenue circle headquarters and city suburbs, supplied cloth and grain to periodic markets in villages and neighbourhood markets in the cities. The largest group however, were the small retail merchants who worked directly from shops and stalls in towns and cities or carried

8 Ibid., pp. 105-107
9 Ibid., pp. 105-107
10 Ibid., pp. 107-108

goods from periodic markets to periodic markets in the countryside. Merchants in Mughal India were organized on the basis of family and caste. The wholesale merchant houses maintained branches and lived together in establishment maintained by the firm, leaving wives and families at home. In towns and cities retail merchants of a particular good- grain, salt, cloth or indigo –typically belonged to a single caste. And it was the caste council that handled social, ritual, political and economic disputes. Merchants in the Mughal India did not form guilds that incorporated or established prices and conditions of trade, and negotiated with princes and kings for property rights and protection. The only organizations that were similar were the merchant councils of Ahmedabad in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries and Those of Banaras in the Eighteenth century. They were not there in Shahjahanabad or Surat during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. During the Mughal period the premier merchant group in North India seems to have been the Khattris, a Hindu caste of traders and administrators from Punjab.. This caste dominated commerce in Agra and Lahore in the Seventeenth century and along with some Gujarati and Rajasthani merchants, controlled trade in Shahjahanabad as well. There is no doubt that in some parts of Mughal India merchants' recruited artisans and organized workshops, providing material and tools, specifying design qualities, and paying daily wages. Most of this activity, however seems to have taken place in or near the commercial cities of the coast. Merchants founded *Karkhanahs* for the same reasons that they established the putting-out system, i.e, to overcome the deficiencies of the market.[11]

3.4 TYPES OF MARKET

The pre-modern market in India released two distinct functions; it brought together commodities for the consumption of the local buyers or for distribution among consumers in far-flung markets. The two functions were not reciprocally exclusive, could coexist in the similar geographical location, and be managed by the same establishment and people. Conversely, there were places and traders concerned more,

[11] Ibid., pp. 108-111

if not exclusively, with one rather than the other occurrence of total dearth of links between the two types of markets were probably rare.

A second characteristic of Indian markets was the pecking order of scales ranging from the infinitesimal rural *hat* to the emporia of international trade like Surat or Agra. Combining these two categories, the Indian markets may be classified in to four main types:

- The emporia for long-distance trade, inland, overland or overseas;
- Small–scale bazaars where goods were congregated from places within a short radius predominantly for purposes of local consumption and *mandis* or wholesale markets;
- Intermittent fairs where 'specialized traders met together to sell and refill their stocks 'but consumers were not excluded
- The truly' isolated rural market where the local surplus produce was exchanged among the producers-cum-consumers.[12]

The concept of' Primary nodal markets' has been applied to the major commercial emporia which acted as 'intermediaries' between producing and consuming markets widely speckled in space and their multilateral trade explained as 'a secondary development of their purely bilateral trade 'Possibly the multilateral trade of India's commercial emporia is better described with reference to geographical and political factors. Inland emporia like Agra as such since they were at the interactions of inter regional trade or, as centres of administration, imparted enormous markets which naturally fascinated traders from diverse quarters. The port towns developed analogous functions as entry points for the imported coastal trade goods and exit points for the produce of inland territories Every such emporium included three types of market

- A solely local market serving the requirements of the resident population.
- A wholesale spot market which provided both the retail trade.

[12] Ibid., pp.339-340

- The bazaar, and the inter regional commerce and finally, the latter's offshoot, a wholesale forward market. [13]

Urban Geographers have found that the theory of the central place applies to the market places with in cities as well as to market towns in regions. Urban markets can be distinguished and ranked according to number of customers, size of the marketing area, and variety of goods and services In some cities three levels have been distinguished and in other four. In Shahjahanabad there seems to have been a three – fold hierarchy neighbourhood markets, regional markets, and central markets.[14]

In neighbourhood markets grain, cloth, salt, fruit, and vegetables were sold. The most numerous variety in the city, these markets served the smallest area, had the fewest customers, and offered a limited selection of goods. For most part, they served that portion of the population who were not clients of great men and members of the elite households.[15]

The petty shopkeepers in neighbourhood markets obtained their supplies from the large wholesale markets for leather goods, metal utensils, horned cattle, sheep and goats, wood, soap, fireworks, fish, cheese and building materials. In the cities of the Mughal India, urban officials controlled trade by specifying the places where goods could be bought or sold. Merchants were not allowed to sell their goods without going through the designated markets. To each market the *kotwal* appointed a *darogah* who set prices and collected the taxes. Urban markets were divided in to *Mahals*. Over each *Mahal* the *kotwal* set an official who supervised the *darogahs* and collected the revenue. Regional markets stood within or nearby the imperial palace-fortress and the great mansions. Like neighbourhood markets, regional market sold grain, fruit, vegetable and cloth but they differed in serving more people spread over a larger area and in providing a wider selection of goods. Shahjahanabad was also at the apex of the hierarchy of towns and cities in the North India. It encapsulated the entire central place hierarchy, performing the economic, administrative, police and religious functions of all the places below it as well as a set uniquely its own. The economic

13 Ibid.,pp.340-341
14 Stephen P.Blake., Shahjahanabad : The Sovereign City in Mughal India, 1639-1739 (Cambridge University Press) pp. 116-117
15 Ibid., pp. 116-117

functions unique to the city were located in the central bazaars of Shahjahanabad. A contemporary account mentions traders from Turkey, Zanzibar, Syria, Yemen, Arabia, Iraq, Khorasan, China and Tibet in addition to European from England and Holland.[16]

Various types of markets were found such as *Bazaar-I-Khas*, *Katra*, *Mandi*, *Ganj*, *Dariba*, *Nakhas*, *Peth*, fair (mela) and seasonal markets. Of the above the first six were permanent markets i.e. held daily, except on public holidays. The other three were periodic i.e. weekly, occasional and seasonal ,being organised for one day in a week or twice a week in case of *peth* (hat) for a few days in case of a fair at some holy places and for few months in case of seasonal markets.

The *Bazaar-I-Khas* (or *kalan*) was confined to the principal streets of the cities and contained one or more *chauks* (or *chauraha*) place where four roads met. The *chauks* occupied the central and prominent areas of the city and was always very crowded place. Both sides of the street which housed the bazaar contained shops stretching in a big city for as long as 1520 yards. In a big city, there might be separate shops for each commodity, while in small towns there could be only general grocer's shops. The major feature of the bazaar was that all sorts of goods and commodities such as cloth, grain, food stuffs, drugs, sweets, medicine, tobacco, fruits, vegetables, betel, furniture, toys etc. were on sale. Secondly, whatever was sold there was retail and seldom wholesale. Thirdly, the bazaar was known after the name of the principal *chauk* or was simply called the *chauk* bazaar. In the evening the Bazaar had arrangements for lamp lights.[17]

The *ganj* was the term usually employed for grain market. It was a walled enclosure which was also used for storing the grain. Sometimes it represented the entire *pura* (or *mahalla*) and was named after its founder. In a city there could be more than a *Ganj*. The principal *ganj* was known as *Shah-ganj* (or *ganj-i-sarkari*) i.e. the *Imperial Ganj*, supervised by functionaries and tax collectors who were government officials .Other *ganjes* referred to in the sources are said to have been established by the *jagirdars*. The establishment of such marts was often at the cost of the *Imperial Ganj*. But after

[16] Ibid., pp. 117-118
[17] M.P. Singh., Town, Market, Mint & Port in The Mughal Empire (1556-1707), pp. 138-139

the transfer of the *jagirdar* in most cases, his *ganj* would decay, or its name would be changed by his successors, or again it would be abandoned completely if the new *jagirdar* chose to establish his own *ganj* at some other place. For the management and collection of taxes the *jagirdars* had their own agents.[18]

The *katra* was the market attached to a noble's palace or within the walls built by him. The names of many *katras* occur in the sources. Some of them were named after their founders, while others were known after the name of commodity manufactured or sold there. Since most of the *katras* were associated with the names of the principal nobles, it appears that originally a *katra* contained a few shops around or within the noble's enclosure for supplying provisions, and it was only in the course of time that it developed in to a larger mart or suburb of a town.[19]

The *mandi*, according to the *Mirat*, was "*a place where commodities and corn was brought from outside for sale in the city".* Usually a *mandi* was named after the chief commodity sold there, or after the *pura* of the *ganj* where it was established. Sometimes a *mandi* was also known after a particular profession or craft. There could be a number of *mandis* in a city and each a separate commodity might be sold. Another features of the *mandi* was that here the commodities were sold and purchased in bulk (*thok*) and not in retail.[20]

The *dariba* was a short lane or street.[21]

The *nakhas* was a daily market where elephants, horses, camels, cows, buffaloes, oxen, donkeys, goats, pigeons, hens etc.[22]

The *peth* (hat) was a market held at a fixed place around the city or at the villages of note on fixed days-once a week or more frequently. It was an assemblage of petty *banias* and local manufacturers (or artisans) who gathered from the adjoining towns and the country around in the morning the *hat* (market) continued till a little before sunset. Here things of daily necessity, foodstuffs, oil, ghee, goods such as cloth,

---

18 Ibid., pp. 140-141
19 Ibid., pp. 141-142
20 Ibid., pp. 142-143
21 Ibid., pp. 143-144
22 Ibid., pp. 144-145

thread, cotton, indigo, sugar and rice were sold. In some *peths*, however the sale, purchase of cattle such as horse, camel, bullock etc is said to have taken place.[23]

3.4.1 Market Days

The market was held twice a day; first in the morning after sunrise and then in the evening. At noon, the shopkeepers closed their shops and rested in the houses .Two days in a week were holidays, i.e., Thursdays for *Banias* and Fridays for Muslims.[24]

3.4.2 Payment

Payment for goods purchased was made in three ways; Commodities were brought by payment in cash then and there; through barter and on credit. From instances referred to by the contemporaries, it appears that an on spot payment in cash was usually preferred. But at the time of transaction if per chance the buyer was short of ready cash, he could well within the mercantile laws, have recourse to barter or credit or both in a single deal. The barter signified an exchange of commodities of equal value in amount fixed in accordance with current market rates. It was very popular in petty deals in local periodical markets. But on larger scale it often had to be opted for disposing of dead and perishable stocks. Purchase on credit on the other hand, for fear of de-faultation in payment, needed an unfailing security which could be written promise executed in the presence of the *Qazi* and witnesses and wherein time, mode of payment and terms of interest for the money kept overdue were to be very clearly specified.[25]

3.5 TRANSPORT

Transport as a means of communication occupies a singular position in the progress of urban development. Level of communication facilities could be a fair index as to the level of urban growth achieved. At the preliminary stage when the unpaved tracks, radiating from the town, end up in the adjacent villages, the towns may be interpreted to have a mere local significance, small in size and population, with a low scale of

[23] Ibid., p.145
[24] Ibid., p. 147
[25] Ibid., p. 157

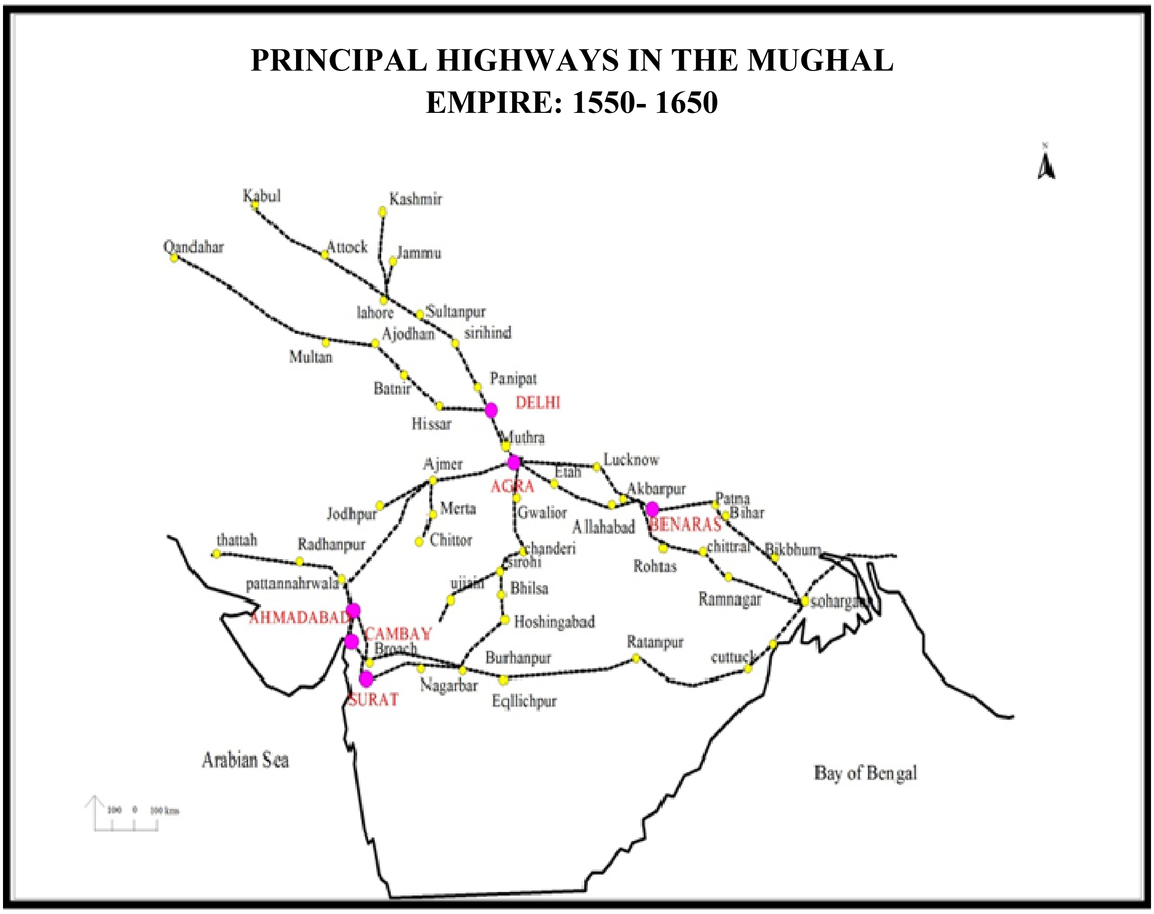
trade and industry involving only the local producers and consumers in its narrow range of small town activities. Here the means of transport are bound to be slow, movement infrequent and roads connect the town with other towns, it may be taken that the second stage is reached and the town has now attained a regional importance its size, population, trade, industry and all other activities making a corresponding move upwards. The streets of the town as well as the outer highways will have to be kept in good repair along with suitable arrangements for transport mediums and also for minimising the discomfort of the travellers. Long distance highways with proper arrangements for shelter, halting stations, security and freedom, from undue cesses en-route had to be made. These highways starting from the town, spread out in all directions covering all important urban centres lying on its way and eventually terminating at the export points. This extension of communication to far-off urban centres entitled the town to acquire imperial or national importance.

In the Medieval times merely building the road was not enough. They had to be secured from the highwaymen, afford protection from the climatic in clemencies, provide reasonable comfortable lodgings at every stage and make arrangements for water as frequently as possible all along the way. Accordingly, measures were taken to get these routes secured by buildings *sarais* at the fixed stages of journey, which were run by the state. Affording perfect safety to the itinerant travellers. These *sarais* were furnished with lodgings wells, mosques, muazzins, imams, separate boards for Muslims and Hindus and fodder for their animals. The charges at these *sarais* were nominal. The building of the *Sarai* was institution of Muslim rulers all over the Islamic world. Apart from the *sarais* built within the towns, all the highways came to be dotted with these series at regular intervals of every stage along the route.[26]

In view of the Tropical heat water arrangement was made at shorter distances, again either by the state or by the munificence of some wealthy *amirs* as is borne out of by the itinerary of the contemporary travellers. For example, on the Agra-Ajmer route wells were dug at every *kos*. While most of these were ordinary ones, some were the step wells, which provided both shelter and water to the weary traveller. In order to

[26] Hameeda Khatoon Naqvi., Urbanisation and Urban Centres Under The Great Mughals 1556-1707, Vol-1 pp. 58-60

ensure free and unhindered flow of the traffic, Emperor Akbar had remitted all imports on goods in transit over land routes and carefully fixed those payable on use of watery courses and at the exit points of the Empire. Emperor Jahangir had repeated the issue of the *farman* with an additional clause of complete abolition of duties on the Kabul–Qandahar routes similarly Aurangzeb Alamgir too had issued a *farman* forbidding the levy of cesses on traders and merchants in the course of their journey or land routes.[27]



Source: Urbanization and Urban Centres in Mughal India by Hameeda Khatoon Naqvi

Map 3.1: Principal Highways in the Mughal Empire 1550-1650

27 Ibid., pp. 68-70

Table 3.1: Principal Highways during the Mughal Empire

S.No	Point of Origin and terminus	Approx. distance	Built by or in the reign of	Remarks
1	From Sonargaon to Attock	1500 Karohs	Sher Shah Suri	
2	From Hindustan to Kabul leading upto Jalalabad, Khairbar, Bangash, Naghaz and Farmul	....	....	River Sind had to be crossed at Chauparah ferry
3	The Khaibar route	....	Emperor Akbar	It was a regular road fit for wheeled traffic
4	From Lahore to Kashmir	....	Emperor Akbar	Was called the Imperial Road ; was open for traffic for seven non-winter months
5	From Multan to Delhi	....	......	......
6	From Multan to Qandahar	....	......	......
7	From Thattah to Amhadabad	....	....	Was dangerous being infested with Baluchi marauders
8	From Ahmadabad to Cambay	....	......	The route passed through Baroda
9	From Ahmadabad to Surat	......	......	......
10	From Ahmadabad to Burhanpur	....	....	....
11	From Burhanpur to Orissa	....	....	Probably only an unfrequented track
12	From Orissa to Bengal	....	.....	......
13	From Bengal to Bihar	......	....	Through Garhi as the gate to Bengal
14	From Maldah in Bengal to Jaunpur	....	....	was only a track, it passed through Chhapara near Patna
15	From Agra to Fatehpur Sikri	12 cos	Emperor Akbar	was shady, populous and full of shops
16	From Agra to Delhi	......	Sher Shah Suri	ran via Mathura and west of Jamuna
17	From Agra to Jodhpur and Chittor	....	Sher Shah Suri	......
18	From Agra to Ajmer	....	Emperor Akbar	Well- cared route
19	From Agra to Sirihind	......	....	....
20	From Agra to Lahore	350 cos	....	*A Khayaban* i.e. shaded avenues: Jahangir had put Karoh *minars* to mark the distance; at every five *Karohs* he built a well
21	From Agra to Mandu	......	Sher Shah Suri	....
22	From Agra to Burhanpur	....	....	Extension of Agra Mandu highroad
23	From Agra to Surat	....	....	Extension of Agra Mandu highroad
24	From Agra to Broach	....	....	it ran via Ajmer, Merta, Ahmadabad and Baroda. From Broach on it got linked up with Cambay and Surat.
25	From Agra to Attock	....	.....	*Khayaban*i.e. a shaded avenue
26	From Agra to Bengal	......	....	*Khayaban*i.e. a shaded avenue
27	From Agra to Beneras	....	....	Lay through Qanauj, Lucknow, Akbarpur and Jaunpur
28	From Agra to Allahabad	.....	.....	Covered Koil, Itamadpur and Manikpur *en-route*
29	From Agra to Etah	....	....	was a metalled road
30	From Ajmer to Allahabad	....	......	......

Source: Hameeda Khatoon Naqvi (1972) Vol-1,, Urbanisation and Urban Centres under the Mughal 1556-1707, IIAS, Shimla

Elephants, camels, horses, bullocks, bullock carts, mules, and litters were the usual mode of transportation during medieval period. The use of elephants as a means of conveyance was reserved for the sovereign, or to those whom he granted permission to use them. Often Agra goods were being sent down to Surat in huge camel caravans. The incidence of use of horses in journeys undertaken by individuals appears to have been far more common. Their use by the nobility both within and without towns are well known. Mules and asses being less expensive than horses and relatively more suited for the conveyance of goods particularly through uneven paths were well fitted for the use of lower segment of population for both purposes. In the north western and western regions they were therefore commonly employed as beasts of burden.[28]

3.5.1 Bullocks

Several factors contributed in making bullocks by far the most convenient and important means of transportation the sixteenth-seventeenth century India. Their prominent shoulders are eminently suited to carry heavy loads of drive wheeled carriages .By virtue of their adaptability to transversing long distances over paved and unpaved or uneven roads and also because of their abundance in the Empire ,they may be graded higher to other animals as a beast of burden and means of transport in the Mughal India. These bullocks could carry, on an average, four great *mauds* of weight each .Riding on bullocks was common practice, and so was their employment as beast of burden by individuals, traders or merchants. Ox-driven carriages could be covered or uncovered for passenger conveyance or for transportation of goods.[29]

3.5.2 Palanquins

Though occasionally used by men, old and infirm, these were in the main used by ladies. Palanquins being of the bigger size was carried by six or eight men at a time while of the smaller types known as *doli* or little having seat for one occupant only,

---

[28] Ibid., pp. 71-72
[29] Ibid., p.73

was carried by just two men. The palanquin bearers belonged to a particular caste of Hindus called *Kahars*. They carried their burden with such skill that the occupants inside were not troubled with any jolting.[30]

3.5.3 Riverine Traffic

River routes are watery courses designed by nature. Since antiquity these courses designed by nature, since antiquity these courses have been used for traffic which is relatively much cheaper and safer though entails much longer time. In the Mughal Empire a network of navigable river existed covering the *subahs* of Sindh, Multan, Lahore, Kashmir, Delhi, Agra, Allahabad, Bengal. Agra was served by the rivers Jamuna and Chambal both of which effected their confluence at Kalpi. Chambal was navigable but the province gained much more by the navigability of Jamuna which linked it with its eastern areas. The river was navigable throughout the year to boats up to 100 tons. It flows through Agra so that the town could carry on brisk traffic through this river as far east as Sonargaon and then on to Chittagong. At times Agra dispatched flotillas of as many as 180 boats, full of indescribable merchandise. The maintenance of this facility of transportation was highly profitable to both the provinces of Agra and Bengal: Agra and its neighbouring towns had thus gained easier access to markets whether internal or foreign for their surplus goods such as salts, lead, opium, iron, cotton or finished goods such as carpets or other cotton fabrics. By availing of this watery course, Bengal in this turn, could pay for the goods received either by consigning its own surplus food grains to up country, by remitting species obtained as proceeds from the sale of Hindustani goods abroad, or by doing both.[31]

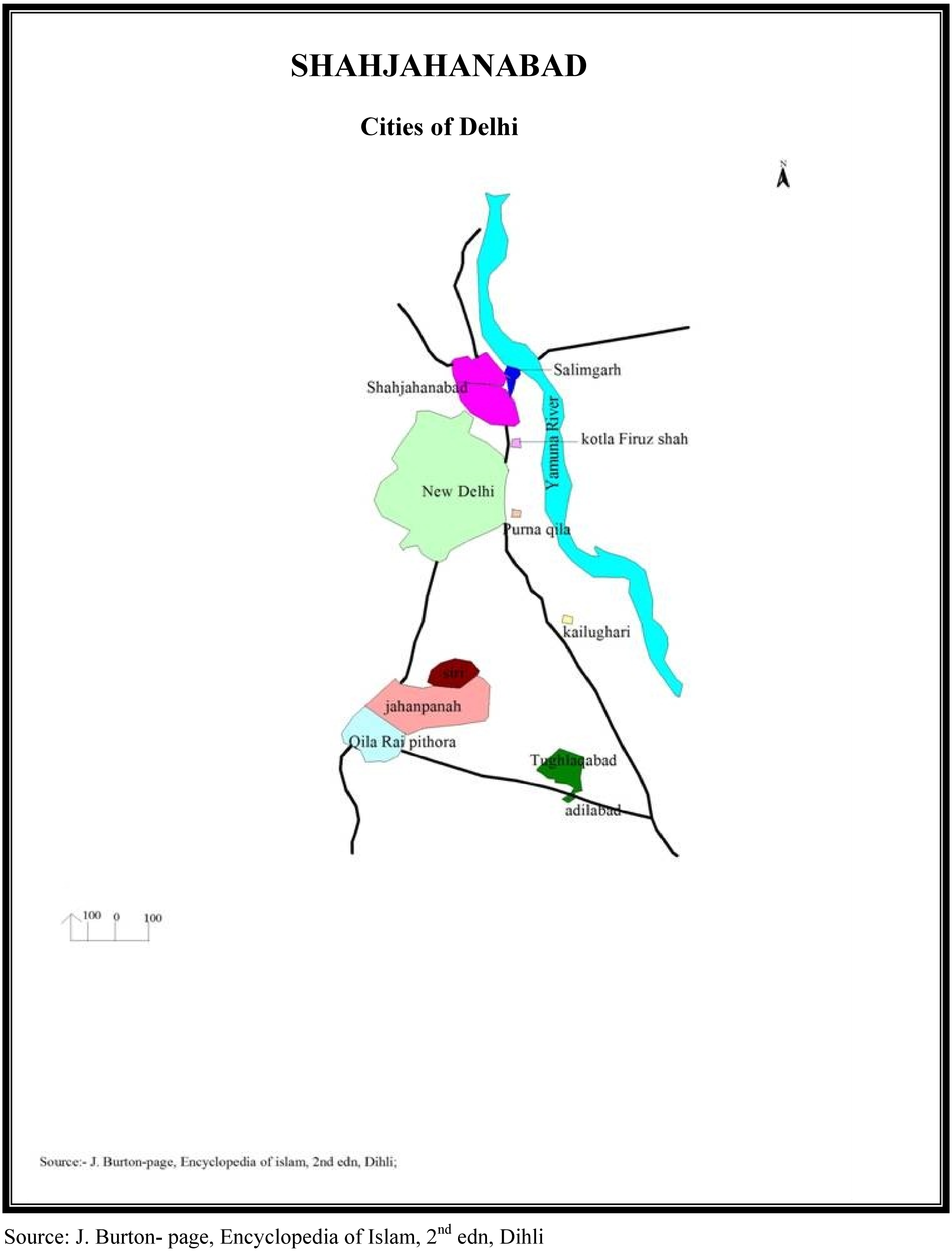
[30] Ibid., p.74
[31] Ibid., pp.75-76

3.6 DELHI

In speaking about Delhi, *Bernier* refers to the old and the new city. The latter included the suburbs extended for more than one and a half league. *Ferishta* writing sometime before *Bernier* and *Tavernier* declares Delhi to the "*envy of the world*" while *Manucci*, visiting Delhi in the middle of the 17th century, mentions the large and well built bazaars or markets within the city, "*where things were sold of every kind*". On the other hand, *Thevenot* refers to the pulsatory character of its large population which reduces greatly with the movement of the royal court. Delhi enjoys a much greater nodality than any other centre for the convergence of the most important routes originating from the north-west across the mountains, from east stretching through the Ganga plains, from the south and west connecting the resourceful regions of Deccan, Malwa and the international trading ports of the western coast. The geographical location of Delhi has given it a marchland position, receiving the first shock of every invasion coming from the North West.[32]

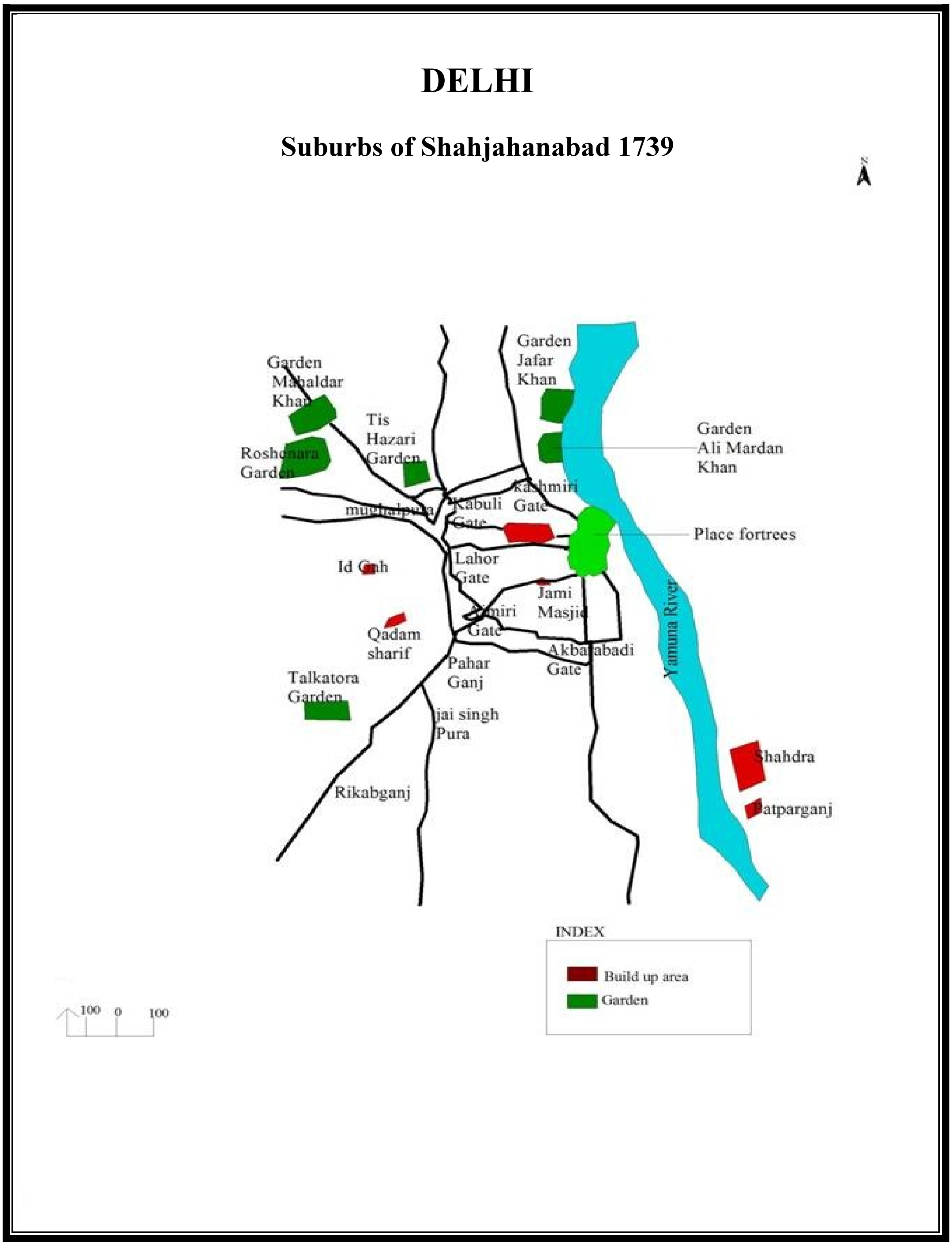
For the Muslims of the mid seventeenth century the Delhi area had an additional alliance, one wholly different from the political one. The area was a religious centre, a place of pilgrimage, and one of the mainly significant sites in the subcontinent for devout Muslims. Tombs and graves of saints, sheikhs, pirs, and holy men were pilgrimage centre, Delhi attained an aura of sacredness. A mid-eighteenth century historian depicted the city as one of the old holy places. And Ghulam Muhammad Khan, who visited Delhi near the end of the eighteenth century, wrote Delhi is the sentinel of religion and justice. It is a Garden of Eden that is populated. In choosing the Delhi area as the site for the newcity, the Mughals worked with a composite of ideas about religious and political centrality.

[32] B. Bhattacharya., Urban Development In India, pp. 177-188



Source: J. Burton- page, Encyclopedia of Islam, 2nd edn, Dihli

Map 3.2: Shahjahanabad Cities of Delhi



Source: J. Burton- page, Encyclopedia of Islam, 2nd edn, Dihli

Map 3.3: Suburbs of Shahjahanabad 1739

The wall was crowned by twenty-seven towers and was broken in various places by gates and entryways, both large and small. While it is not possible now to differentiate all the original gates , it is quite easy to establish the major points of entry constructed by Shahjahan and his direct successors .Set at usual gap around the jagged semicircle that joined the Northern and Southern fringes of the city were seven large gates. These were found generally, at the ends of the chief urban veins and handled the bulk of mounted, vehicular and pedestrian traffic. They included the *Kashmiri, Mori, Kabuli, Lahori, Ajmeri, Turkomani, and Akbarabadi gates*. The wall fronting the river was also interjected with numerous gates the *Rajghat, Quilaghat, Nigambodhghat*. A task of these three was to offer Hindus of the city entry to the riverside platforms upon which they burned their dead. Interspersed among the large entrances, a number of smaller gates allowed pedestrians swift and easy passage to and from the city. Many of these represented the work of nobles and were located near large mansions. Other stood near places of public significance.[33]

The most vital topographical features within the area surrounded by the great walls were two hillocks. *Jhujalal Pahari* (hill) near the northwest wall of the city and *Bhujalal Pahari* (hill) which occupied a spot near the centre of the enclosure and became the site for the great Friday mosque, the Jama Masjid. An extensive piece of low ground separated *Bhujalal Pahari* from the bluff along the Yamuna.

The two thoroughfares in Shahajanabad are described in the sources as bazaars, street lined on both the sides with shops of merchants, artisans and others. The largest and the richest of these commercials avenues stretched from the Lahori Gate of the fort to the Fatehpuri Mosque. Built in 1650 by Jahanara Begum, favourite daughter of Shahjahan, this street was about forty yards wide, 1520 yards long, and contained 1560 shops and porticos. A lovely canal of the Nahr-i-Bihist (canal of paradise), flowed through the centre of the bazaar. On each side of the canal a row of trees was planted which provided shade and a place to rest. In the earlier sources there was no special name for the street. It was simply the bazaar in the direction of Lahore. However, the bazaar was divided in to several sections and each of these has its own

[33] Stephen P.Blake., Shahjahanabad : The Sovereign City in Mughal India, 1639-1739 (Cambridge University Press) pp. 31-32

name. The 480-yard section from the Lahori gate of the fort to the *chawk* (square) of the *Kotwali chabutra* was called the Urdu bazaar (camp market). This bazaar served the members of the imperial household_ soldiers, servants, clerks, artisans and others _ who lived in and around the palace- fortress and who accompanied the emperor when he toured the country side and resided , for the most part in the great camp.[34]

The section from the *Kotwali Chabutra* to the *Chawk* built by the Jahanara Begum was about 480 yards long. It was called the *Ashrafi* bazaar (moneychangers market) or the *Jauhari Bazaar* (Jewelers Bazaar) and seems to have been the financial section of the street. The *Chawk* was an octagon with sides one hundred yard long; a large pool occupied its centre. To the north Jahanara built a *sarai* (inn) and a garden, and to the south a *hammam*. On certain nights the moonlight reflected pale and silvery from the pool and gave to the area the name Chandani Chawk (silver or moonlight square) Over time this name slowly displaced all others until finally the entire bazaar from Lahore gate to the Fatehpuri Mosque, became as Chandani Chawk. The final section of the bazaar ran about 560 yards from Chandani Chawk to the Fatehpuri Masjid was called *Fatehpuri Bazaar*. In front of the mosque (built by wife of Shahjahan) was a platform and below that a pool. A *sarai* for scholars and travellors stood nearby.[35]

The 1650 shops that lined the sides of the bazaar were of single design. Each occupied a small room under one section of a long arcade. A thin partition separated one shop from another. At the back of the shop a door led to a small warehouse where surplus goods were stored. Above the warehouse at the back of the arcade lived the merchant, his family, and servants. In these shops an extraordinary variety of goods and services were available: spicy kebabs, beautifully scented flowers, and astrologers who forhold the future. An early eighteenth century visitor marvelled at the rubies, emerald and pearls; lingered over the glass huquass (waterpipes) and eyeglasses from China; and gazed longingly at the variety of sweets in the confectioners shop.[36]

---

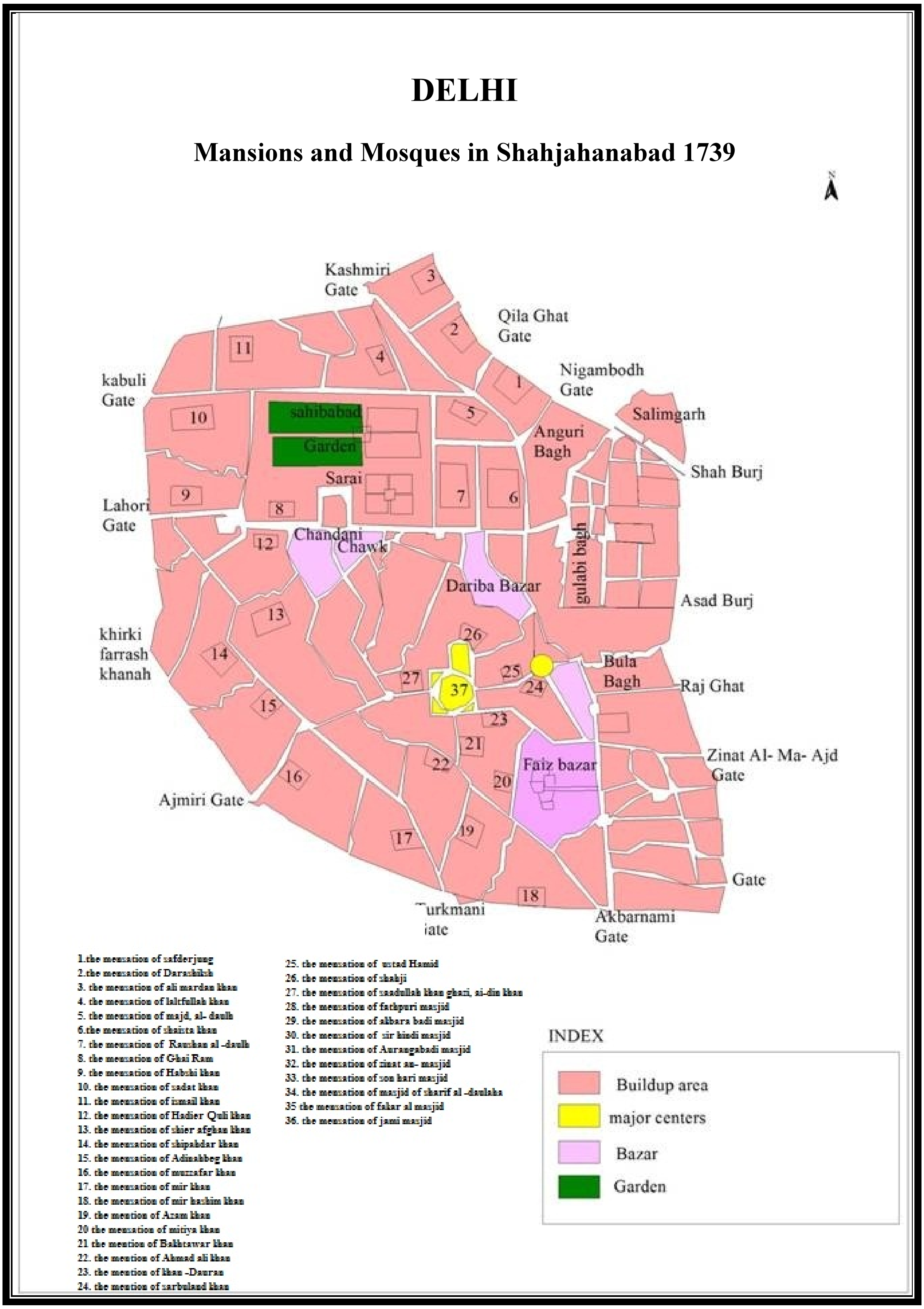
[34] Ibid., pp. 55-56
[35] Ibid., p. 56
[36] Ibid., pp. 56-57

The other major bazaar in Shahjahanabad stretched from the Akbarabadi gate of the city. With 888 compartments and porticos along a street 1050 yards long and thirty yards wide, this bazaar was smaller and less impressive than Chandani Chawk. Built in 1650 by Nawab Akbarabadi Begum, it had in its middle a branch of the *Nahr-i-Bihist*. The most imposing complex of structures stood at the head of the bazaar, just south of the palace gate. Here Nawab Akbarabadi Begum built a magnificent mosque of black, red, creamy white called *Ashatpanahi* (great protection). In the early 18th century Raushan al- Daulah, an important noble under Muhammad Shah, put up strings of lights on both the sides of the canal. The name of this bazaar also changes over time. Originally known as the bazaar in the direction of Akbarabad, it later came to be called *Faiz Bazar* (Bazar of Plenty).[37]

One other market deserves mention. Just outside the Akbarabadi gate of the fort, Sa'adullah Khan constructed a large *chawk* in the middle of *Khas Bazaar* (Special Bazar), the street which connected the Jama Masjid and the palace fortress. In this area dancing girls, physicians , story tellers and astrologers piled their trades; here also were shops that dispensed cloth, medicine, cooked food, weapons, birds, fruits, flowers, wild animals and sugar canes was available.

Although these three were the largest and richest market in the city, they were by no means the only place of commercial activity. All over the urban areas –in lanes and byways and on street corners- a variety of shops and stalls could be found.[38]

37 Ibid., pp. 57-58
38 Ibid., p. 61



Source: Stephen P.Blake., Shahjahanabad: The Sovereign City in Mughal India

Map 3.4: Mansions and Mosques in Shahjahanabad 1739

During construction of the city Shahajahan had a garden called *Khizrabad* built for him on the west bank of the Yamuna about five miles south of the *Akbarabadi* gate of the city. Here in 1658 Aurangzeb imprisoned his brother and defeated rival, Dara Shikoh. Outside the Kabuli Gate of the city Shahajahan laid out a garden filled with neem trees called the *Tis Hazari Bagh* (Garden of Thirty Thousand). Zeb al-Nisah Begum, daughter of Aurangzeb, and Maka Zamani, wife of Muhammad Shah, were buried there.[39]

In 1659 Raushan Ara Begum, daughter of Shahjahan constructed a large garden near the Lahori Gate of the city in the suburb now called *Sabzi Mandi* (Vegetable market). On her death in 1671 she was buried there within a tomb. Nawab Sirhindi Begum, wife of Shahjahan, built a garden in the same area that also served as her final resting place. In 1653-4, Nawab Akbarabadi Begum built a fine garden about six miles beyond the Lahori Gate of the city named *Shalimar* and modelled after the earlier gardens of that name in Lahore and Kashmir, this was the place where Aurangzeb was crowned Emperor.[40]

The supreme example in Shahjahanabad of the garden builders, art, however, and the only garden of size within the city and outside the palace-fortress was the one erected by Jahanara Begum north of Chandni Chawk called *Sahibabad* (Abode of the Master) and constructed in 1650, this garden enclosed an enormous rectangular area of about fifty acres. The Nahr-i-Bihist provided water for an elaborate garden-paradise arrangement of canals, waterfalls, fountains and pools. Flowers and trees surrounded the *baradharis*. Set in the middle of the pools, these delicate structures were barely visible behind the drifting spray of the fountains. In the apartments and pavilions of the garden, women of the imperial household played with their children and rested from the heat of summer.[41]

To ensure a stable, year- round supply of water, cities in Mughal India were located on or near rivers. Canals of all sizes–built by the emperors and great Amirs-channelled water for drinking, washing and irrigation to houses, gardens, shops, pools

[39] Ibid., p. 62
[40] Ibid., pp. 62-63
[41] Ibid., pp.62-63

and baths. In 1615-16, for example the great Amir Abd al- Rahim, Khan – i-Khanan, constructed in Burhanpur, a canal which carried water from the Tapti river to *Lal Bagh* (Red Garden). The longest and largest canal, however and on the most impressive engineering feats of the entire Mughal periods was the *Nahr-i-Bihist*. This canal carried water from a point on the Yamuna seventy-five miles upstream to the city, by a circuitous route.

Once inside the city the canal split into two main branches. One branch met Chandni Chawk near Fathpuri Masjid and flowed down the middle of the avenue to *Faiz Bazaar*. The other branch entered *Sahibabad*, Jahanara Begums garden, at its north western end and provided an ample supply of water for the intricate arrangement of pools and water courses. According to a mid-eighteenth century observer:

> *"The canals brought greenness to Delhi. It ran in all of the city from lane to lanes and the wells became full from it.....it flowed in to the imperial fort and around the moat……having flowed to the mansions of the princess and amirs it flowed into the city – to Chandni Chawk, to the Chawk of Saadullah Khan, to Paharganj, to Ajmeri gate, to the grazing places, to the other mahallahs, and took all lanes and bazaars of the city."*[42]

The *Nahr-i-Bihist* was responsible for much that was fresh, green and beautiful in Shahjahanabad and was one of the most important factors for the reputations of the capital.

In Mughal India members of imperial and noble families erected ***c***aravanserais (inns for travellers and merchants) at regular intervals along major highways and cities. As walled rectangular enclosures, these structures presented to the ordinary passer by a façade quite similar to that of the garden or mansion. Travellers entered the enclosure through one of several large gateways. Rows of identical arched compartments, separated by thin partitions, lined the sides of the buildings. A pool of water, a well, a mosque, stables, trees and flowers and a *katra* (walled enclosure) for storing traveller's goods were found in most *sarais*. Constructed by the great for reasons for

[42] Ibid., pp. 63-64

charity, religious duty, or fame, these were open to merchants, scholars, religious specialists and other travellers but not to soldiers.[43]

An average sized *sarai* had room for eight hundred to one thousand travellers. Each *sarai* had a large numbers of permanent residents who ministered to the need of the travellers. These included barbers, tailors, washer men, blacksmiths, sellers of grass and straw, physicians, dancer's girls and musicians. To keep order among such an assembly the Mughal's posted to each *sarai* an official with contingent of soldiers. The primary responsibility of this man and he took elaborate precautions to fulfil it, was to guarantee travellers goods against theft.

In Shahjahanabad a numbers of these structures stood ready to receive merchants and travellers. Nawab Fathpuri Begum erected an inn for pilgrims near her mosque in Chandni Chawk. Nawab Fathpuri Begum provided the same structures as part of her mosque in *Faiz Bazaar*. The outstanding examples however of a caravanserai in Shahjahanabad was the one constructed by Jahanara Begum near the entrance to her garden in Chandni Chawk. Bernier considered it next to Jama Masjid, the most imposing structure in the entire city. It was square and had ninty rooms divided between upper and lower stories. Each room was beautifully painted and appointed. In the middle of the courtyard a garden filled with water-courses, trees, flowers and pools had been laid out. On each of the four corners was a tower. Only the richest and most eminent of Persian and Uzbek merchants were allowed to put up there. Jahanara wrote of the building:

> "*I will build a sarai, large and fine like no other in Hindustan. The wanderer who enters its courts will be restored in body and soul and my name will never be forgotten.*[44]

It became the capital of the Mughal empire in 1638,[45] just like Agra, Delhi also had proximity to river body and this geographical advantage was very beneficial in defining the commercial traffic at Delhi ; several commodities were found at Delhi during that time , the popular ones are sugar, indigo, paper, jaggery, turmeric, coarse

---

[43] Ibid., pp. 65-66
[44] Ibid., pp. 66-67
[45] H.Q.Naqvi, Urbanisation and Industries in upper India 1556-1803,pp.65-66

muslin etc. Various varieties of coarse muslin were found here, these were Gangajal, Calico, Chintz etc. If one looks in to the chief industries of Delhi, cotton industries but more so Chintz were well coloured, next in quality to those of Masulipatnam only, these were also produced in large quantities and several qualities with a wide range of prices to suit the pocket of high and low, this very fact shows that Delhi had material available for both the classes i.e. for the elites as well as for the common man. Delhi was well reputed for its dyeing of cotton fabrics, especially the type of dyeing called tie-dyeing, its famous quilts used to be dyed thus. The indigo industry too was in a flourishing state attracting merchants in large number good indigo used to be produced in the quantity within the environs of the city, a prosperous leather industry in Delhi is indicated by several circumstances, a multitude of shoemakers, and the existence of their wards, the *Qarol bagh* area, inhabited by local tanners and the *Kappewalla mohalla* where Muslim tanners made leather jars[46] All this shows that Delhi had its own place as a trading centre during the Mughal era and also it was a major centre for Chintz as well as for the leather goods. The most interesting thing comes in the shape of the economic morphology which was very apparent within one town and this was very well marked in Delhi, there were different types of markets existing, different markets for keeping different sorts of goods for ex the *Nakhas* was a daily market place where cotton and slaves were sold, both wholesale and retail. *Gunges* were usually the grain markets, *Mandavis* were markets of goods, usually provision or grains, *A katra* was an enclosed market, and just like a *mundi*, might be named after some article sold there or its founder, many *katras* occur in the sources. At Delhi a *Nil katra*, (indigo) there were still other *bazaars*, bearing again the names of the commodities in which they mainly traded or represented their founders, thus Delhi were the *Khasbazar*, *Khanambazar*, *Chaoribazarft*, *Jawhari Bazaar* and *Raja Bazaar*, Similar quarters were found at Agra as well such as the *lohagali*, *cheenitola*, and the *mochigate*[47] etc.

---

[46] Ibid,pp.66-67
[47] Ibid,pp75-77

3.7 AGRA

Tavernier, visiting India on five successive occasions between 1641 to 1665, found the summers of Agra exclusively trying. But he admits it to be the largest city of India where the houses of the nobles are beautiful and well built. There was a large market consisting of six large courts selling among other things an enormous quantity of cotton. The time however, the capital had already been shifted to Delhi. *Bernier* writing about the same time of *Tavernier*, found it larger than Delhi both in the number of buildings and stone or brick houses. Besides, it was an unwalled city and thus in his opinion was inferior to Delhi. Besides the city was not build to any settled design lacking the uniformity of street pattern that so eminently distinguished Delhi. *Ralph Fitch*, visiting both Agra and Fatehpur Sikri in 1585 calls them very great cities each being greater than London. *Palsaert* gives a very clear impression about the build of the city. The street and the houses were built without any regular plan and as a result the palaces of the great princes and the lord were hidden away in alleys and corners. The city had grown enormously within a space of few decades since Akbar made it as his capital. The entire area was closely built over and thickly inhabited, virtually leaving no space for growth of any remarkable market place as in Lahore, Burhanpur, Ahmedabad or other cities.[48]

Five gates build by Akbar for the security of the capital lay in the middle of the city at that time when the built up area extending beyond them was were three times larger. In his opinion had it been the fixed residence of the Emperor, as it was at his father's time, the city would have grown in to "*one of the wonders of the world*". Beyond the fort there was a great market where, apart from different types of animals, cotton goods and many other things were sold. *Manucci* also found Agra as a large city with a circumference of twelve leagues. *Thevenot* writing a few years after, held it to be the greatest of the towns of Indies.

It emerged as a very significant town during the Mughal empire, there are many factors behind its importance but the two most important factors which play the key role are firstly, that it was the capital city and secondly, the economic importance

[48] B.B.Bhattacharya, Urban Development In India (Since Pre-historic times), p.172

which it had gained through the trading activity which existed in that period. Agra was also blessed with such geographical features which enhanced its potentialities in being a prosperous trading town, the proximity to the river Yamuna was one among them, Agra had become an entrepot. The seventeenth century sources characterize Agra as the most important exchange centre in the Northern India. It acted as the convergence point for routes from all the directions; it had developed in to a Sub-continental mode for regional and long distance trade and communication, also an important place for manufacture[49]

All along the routes *Sarai* (resting/ halting places) were built, by local officials and nobles for use by merchants and travellors. These were constructed at a convenient interval of one day journey pack animals, cart and large boats were used as the means of transport, large herds of oxen, called "*tanda*" sometimes consisted of 20,000 animals.[50]

Tandas were normally engaged by the Indian traders for the transport of goods like food grains, sugar and salt. Transport by cart was considered more economical and convenient each cart could carry weight equivalent of 3 camel loads or about one metric ton sometimes very large carts were used for special purposes.

River Yamuna served as the main waterways, several commodities such as salt, textile, raw cotton, carpets etc laden on large boats up to the capacity of 500 ton were sent to the eastern provinces, during the rainy season (July September) there returned with products from Bengal and Bihar during other month of the year. The flow of the commercial traffic so immense that it had turned Agra in to a great exchange centre for a large variety of products and the result of this was that several markets with specific specialization emerged in different parts of the city. Several commodities were available in Agra, of these the following were the most prominent carpets, gold and silver embroidery, sugarcane, saltpeter, indigo, quilts, sugar, shoes, turmeric, jasmine oil, silk stuffs, etc. Products of different regions were available at Agra, raw cotton and woven silk came from east, cotton goods, indigo, sugar etc from the region of Awadh.

---

[49] J.P.Gupta, Urban Glimpses of Mughal India: Agra the Imperial Capital, p.34
[50] Ibid.,pp38-40

Cotton industry came as a major industry during the Mughal Era and therefore trade in cotton stuffs and raw cotton was a common feature of the Mughal Era several varieties of cotton were available. The most popular at Agra were *Calico, Chintz, Bafta, Chautar, Ghazi, Sahan*, etc. The availability of so many commodities and specialization in production of different goods gives testimony to the grandeur and glory of Agra as a big trading centre. The initiative taken by Akbar to have carpets produced bin the imperial establishments (known as *karkhanahs*) was rewarded with intense activity and they soon emerged as an important item of trade in regional markets . Silver stuffs and very fine cloth of gold and silver were woven for turbans, lace, or other adornments for women, this evidence of *Manucci* coupled with existence of *Kanaribazaar* at Agra would tell that silver and gold laces were extensively manufactured here. Raw silk for silken goods was being imported both from Bengal via Patna and Persia via Gujarat ports, Quilts too are reported to have been made here and these were frequently in demand for export Agra was also celebrated for its dyestuffs and also was noted for its extraction of rose essence and perfumes. Due to the intense political and economic activities, Agra acted as a great attraction and pull to all types of professional group of people, such activities have also led to the development of different social groups and institutions, the city thus kept expanding both in size and population, In a short span of time of about thirty years the city is reported to have grown three times in size and around 1626 covered about 60sq kms. The population stood at about 500,000 in 1609, 660,000, 1629-43 and 800,000 in 1666[51]. The city of Agra by far was considered the largest and most popular city of the Mughal Empire in the seventeenth century. The geographical location of Agra made the flow centripetal and Agra stood as the proud town of the Mughal Empire. All the routes in northern India radiated to and from Agra rendering it "*the heart of his empire or the navel of the whole realm*".[52]

It had facilities of banking and credit, transport and commission agents for fostering business, with the result that it was the centre to which merchants flocked from far and wide. It was correctly rated as "*Emporium of the traffic of the world*" a great trading centre of the world and a famous city of the east during 16th and 17th centuries.

[51] Ibid.,pp.39-40
[52] Ibid., p.42

The central location of the city was another important factor in boosting its economy. Merchants both Indian and foreign en route from one part of the country to another had to pass through the imperial city. Agra was also directly connected to Kabul and Kandahar via Lahore, and Kabul served as a centre for caravan routes to foreign countries such as Khorasan, Iran, Turkey and China. All goods moving between any two different parts of the empire were required to make a halt here. Obviously the city besides handling its own imports and exports was also acting as a transit depot, thus adding to its own commerce. The Dutch factor *Pelsaert* visiting Agra in the beginning of the 17th century rightly emphasized its importance, the situation of the city at the junction of all the roads from distant countries:

> "*All goods must pass this way as from Gujarat, Tatta (or Sind) from Kabul, Kandahar or Multan, to the Deccan or Burhanpur to those places or to Lahore; and the Bengal and the whole east country; there are no practicable alternative routes, and the roads carry indiscernible quantities of merchandise, especially cotton goods.*"

Thus the city catered to the demands of local, regional, national, and international markets and became an important collecting and distribution centre for retail as well as wholesale trade. Besides finished goods there was also a constant flow of raw materials and specialised products in and out of the city, for goods manufactured locally in neighbouring regions and those in other distant regions.[53]

The main commodities from the neighbouring regions for which the city was collecting centre were cash crops such as indigo and tobacco, agricultural commodities such as wheat, rice, sugar, vegetable oils and butter (ghee) and other commodities such as spices, drugs, opium, salt, walnut, asafoetida, lead, volatile oils(perfumes), lac, gum, vermilion, quicksilver and coral. Indigo was mainly produced in Hindaun, Bayana, Panchoona, Bisaur, Khanwa, Khurja, Koil and Itimadpur, Byana and Kalpiwere main producers of sugar. Shawgur was the only place near Agra which supplied saltpeter while salt was dug from nearby region of Etawah. All these commodities were first brought to the markets of Agra before they were sent out Places like Gwalior, Kalpi, kotputli, and Todah Bhim which were under the jurisdiction of Agra subah were famous for mines of iron, copper and turquoise,

[53] Ibid., p.34

Agra also used the minerals and metal resources of Rajputana. Spices were supplied to Agra mainly by Indian merchants from Deccan though the Dutch also got interested in its trade during the middle of the 17^{th} century. Armenian merchants brought quantities of broad cloth here. From stray evidence it is gathered that rich silken goods, quality carpets and an extensive variety of cotton goods were sent to Agra markets, along with luxury goods of all descriptions disembarking at various Gujarat ports for the use of royalty and nobility.[54]

Cotton textiles specially fine muslins, *Ambartee* calicoes and coarse cloth came from the city of Patna. *Semianoes* and other textiles products from Jabalpur and *Dariyabad*, and *Serbandy* in thousands of *maunds* and silks were brought from Bengal along with musk and civet and various other goods manufactured there and other eastern regions. Silken cloth with gold and silver work came from Benaras. The products of South India, Deccan and western India came to markets of Agra through Burhanpur, Surat and Ahmedabad. The specialised cotton and silken manufacturers of Gujarat and Khandesh were collected and sent through Ahmedabad. Cotton Printz called *chintz* came from Sirong. *Ormesins* from Burhanpur, raw cotton from Surat and Burhanpur and *Zarbaft* from Ahmedabad . Many of these goods came to Agra to be distributed to the rest of the country specially to the eastern region, for there was no other direct route. Agra was also a great market for horses of good breed and they came in large number from Persia, Turkey, Multan, Lahore, and Surat. Products from the cities of Lahore, Multan, Thatta, Kabul and Kandhar, flooded the markets of Agra. They included *Ormesins* and carpets from Lahore; *calicoes*, white cotton, goods, napkins, bows and arrows and miscellaneous commodities from Multan. Leather articles from Thatta came via Lahore, Asafoetida from Kandhar and fresh and dry fruits from Kabul. Precious stones such as diamonds, rubies and pearls came from Delhi. Punjab conducted considerable trade via Kashmir with Ladakh, Yarkand and Kashgar. Amritsar and Jallandhar were important trade centres which were connected to Kangra, Palampur, and Leh. Goods from these regions were brought to Agra city via Agra-Lahore road.[55]

---

[54] Ibid., p.35

[55] Ibid., p.35

Thus Agra remained one of the biggest commercial centres under the Mughals. According to *Sujan Rai author of Khulasatut-Twarikh*, "*... articles of the seven divisions of the globe are bought and sold here*." *Monserrate* mentions that every necessity of human life could be obtained in the markets of Agra, including articles which have to be imported from distant corners of Europe. *Bernier* describes the market well supplied with all goods and separate markets for every commodity. Agra was also a principal centre for precious stones such as pearls and rubies and gold and silver were used in making exquisite jewellery by very skilled goldsmiths. *Palsaert* describes a huge market where horses, camels, oxen, tents, cotton goods, and many other things were sold in the morning.[56]

Agra was not merely a trading centre. Ample evidence points to its teeming with local industries and flourishing crafts. According to *Abul Fazl*, the masterpieces of workmanship of Agra astonished experienced travellers. In his Memoirs, Jahangir says: "*Inhabitants of Agra exert themselves greatly in the acquirement of crafts ....It was the textile industry especially on which the fame of Agra rested chiefly cotton, silken and woollen cloth of different types was manufactured in large amounts.*" *Manucci* mentions the manufacture of cloth of extreme finesse incorporating gold and silver thread used for turbans and laces and other adornments for women. His statements can be corroborated by the existence even now of a *Kenari bazaar* at Agra. According to English factors, "*The cloth is very even and substantially made near Agra*". This refers to a variety of fine cotton cloth manufactured here such as calicoes, *Dereband* and *Kerebands* and broad *baftas*, piece goods and printed quilts. In addition to textiles the manufactures of carpets was an important industry. The subsidiary industry of dyeing also flourished because of the ready availability of textiles, gumlac and indigo.[57]

Another important industry was Metallurgy. Besides articles of silver and gold, those of copper, iron and brass were manufactured in Imperial workshops for domestic use by talented artisans in Agra. *Thevenot* mentions child labour being used for metal industries. The brass rings were manufactured in Agra and chemicals were used to

[56] Ibid., pp.35-36
[57] Ibid., pp.36-37

dissolve the brass. There is also reference to quick-silver mines near Agra. Fitch mentions diamonds also. The stone cutting industry blossomed from the time of Babur. Abul Fazl refers to "*masterly sculptors and cutting artists of form in Agra*." The innumerable huge and beautiful buildings of Agra made in red stone clearly demonstrate how flourishing this industry must have been.

Embroidery with gold and silver thread on beautiful textiles especially silks was one of the most important crafts of Agra. The observations of Sujan Rai, author of Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh are interested in this context. He says: "*Although it's (Agra's) excellent artisans of every art and workmen of every profession are skilful in their respective trade, gold and silver embroidery on turbans and other kinds of cloth is very nicely done.*"

Another flourishing craft was inlay work and carving designs on various articles of metals and stones. *Thevenot* mentions about goldsmiths in Agra doing inlay work with gold and agate crystal and other brittle substances. Accounts are also available about engravings of flowers, leaves and a variety of other patterns in gold to beautify vessels, cups, and coffers.[58]

All the merchandise manufactured locally at Agra or brought to it from distant places was not meant just for local needs. Some was utilised here but a very large amount was collected and redistributed from here to far off places in all directions. The reason for this as given already was that goods from all directions had to pass through Agra as there were no alternative routes. The city merchants were therefore, busy receiving goods from places of their manufacture and sending them to places where they were in demand. Some of the commodities sent from Agra were spices and white cotton and coarse yarn to Multan, Cotton goods, turbans, prints and red silk to Burhanpur, spices to Bengal and Indigo, Sugar and raw silk.

The chief commodities exported from Agra textile goods. These included different kinds of cotton, silk and woollen cloth and raw silk. Cotton fabrics occupied the leading position. In addition to this indigo, sugar, saltpetre, salt, gumlac, coral, walnuts, drugs and spices and various other commodities were traded in abundance.

[58] Ibid., pp.37-38

Indigo which was in great demand was the chief commodity of export. The best indigo was called by the name of Agra Indigo, and it was an important article of commerce throughout the whole world. According to Thomas Roe, the English company alone sent very huge quantity of indigo yearly from Agra to Persia and Turkey and many kept a buffer stock of three or four years requirement of indigo . It was destined for England, Persia and Basra via the overland route to Surat from where it was taken in ships.

Sugar was also exported in abundance from Agra both in powder and candy, and English factors depended chiefly on Agra for this commodity. Gumlac which was used for dyeing was in great demand and was quite profitable. It was exported to England and Persia.

Saltpetre was another major commodity exported from here in abundance. The English factors exported 17160 *maunds* during 1626-1652 in six instalments. Quicksilver and vermillion and coral were also exported from Agra. *Ralph Fitch*, an English merchant went from Agra to Satagaon by Yamuna River with one hundred and sixty boats laden with salt, opium, asafoetida, lead, carpets and other diverse commodities for export.

The textile goods of various types in cotton and silk were the other chief attraction. These were exported by the English factors. The Dutch too made extensive purchases of cloths from Agra for export.[59]

Calicoes were purchased by the English Factors in plenty and the demand for Agra calicoes was ever increasing. Cotton cloths such as *ekbarees, ambertes, mandeeles guzees* and piece goods were exported to England. *Semianos* as well as the best chintz or *pintadoes*, and *pintado* quilts were also exported to England in great quantities. *Semianos* exported to Bantam and carpets too were a major export.

Amongst the silken stuffs shashes were the leading export material. English factors purchased *Serbandy*, in thousands of *maunds* from Agra. Raw silk too was purchased

[59] Ibid., p.39

in abundance and this brought large profits to English merchants. Because of this the company always maintained a good stock of it.

A rough estimate of the exportable commodities sent from Agra, from time to time can be had from English factory records. According to English factors, on February 20 1619, the list of goods sent from Agra to Surat under the charge of John Bangham, (obviously for export) was as follows

Indigo, 278 fardles, sammanaes 14 fardles, carpets, 11 packs, ambertees 7 fardles, mandeeles 2 fardles, sugar candy 26 palnaes, total 338 fardles 169 camel loadings where of 99 camels loading are puccka. English factors giving another list of goods at other places mentions about shashes (turban cloth white and stripped) sugar in powder and candy and chintz of sundry sorts.[60]

Agra was also a market of imported goods from distant corners of Europe. The quantum of exports however, greatly exceeded the volume of imports which was almost negligible. The Dutch conducted a flourishing trade with Agra, in broad cloth, looking glasses, plain, gold and silver laces, ironware and spices. Similarly Agra was also a market for fine English cloth. According to Salbanke, "*the English sold rich silks and velvets, but cloths of light colours were favoured*."

Thus during 16 and 17 centuries Agra became a nucleus of international trade and reached its zenith in economic prosperity. Besides geographical situation and its favourable location, certain other factors also played a conspicuous role in the economic advancement of Agra. The commercial and industrial life of Agra could not have received such a momentum had there not been a constant supply of food stuff and raw materials from the fertile hinterland for the overgrowing needs of the city's mobile and permanent population. Both were complimentary to each other, resulting in a relationship of mutual benefit. The surrounding hinterland found a ready market for their agricultural produce and the population of Agra city never felt a dearth of such articles of daily consumption.

---

[60] Ibid., p.40

The city also had the ground work needed for providing these basic facilities .There were job opportunities for the needy, ample possibility for small and big trade, not only because of the diverse commodities available but also because of the banking and credit facilities prevalent in those days. Further there were numerous caravanserais and *sarais* for the accommodation of travellors merchants and other temporary populations coming from distant places.[61]

There was a constant movement of people from villages, towns, small and big cities to the capital cities to the capital city for temporary or permanent stay. These included merchants, traders, bankers, skilled, semiskilled and unskilled artisans, craftsman, weavers, masons and labourers. Besides religious groups of both Hindu and Muslim communities, astrologers and the Lumpkin section of society were also attracted to the city. The majority of them found bright prospects for livelihood and settled here on a permanent basis. There is no exact data available about the number and different classes who migrated to the city but the tremendous physical expansion of the city, its prosperous trade and industry, and its flourishing economy are all indicative that a very large number of people were involved in its busy life.

Evidence is found about the influx of people from faraway places in to Agra, and their settling here in different professions and business. They thronged to this place as it provided better trade opportunities and a greater margin of profit better trade opportunities and a greater margin of profit. Even if one incurred a loss in a particular business one could easily switch over to another more profitable one because there was no dearth of avenues and opportunities. However merchants settled in Agra used to visit different cities temporarily for the sake of procuring their business commodities, e.g. large number of merchants from Agra used to visit Malda for the consignments of *khassa*, *malmal* and *alshash*. They also used to visit Patna for similar reasons.

Soon a class of workers emerged who helped the traders and merchants in procuring manufactured goods on a commission basis. Through them orders were executed. These brokers were also engaged by foreign merchants and foreign trading

[61] Ibid., p.41

companies. Mention is made of Hari Prasad and devidas, both brokers of Agra, who supplied silk to Englishman and made 25% profit.[62]

A money market is necessary for the growth of commerce and trade, This was available in the city of Agra in the form of banking and credit facilities to both Indian and foreign merchants Some Hindus who were amongst the richest men in Agra adopted banking as a profession and lived by money lending. There are innumerable instances of the English east India Company taking loans from Indian bankers. There is mention of the East India company wishing to borrow money from banker Tulsidas but since a satisfactory agreement could not be reached the money was finally borrowed from banker Beni Dass who agreed to furnish Rs. 200,000 at 5/8% interest per month. Another merchant, Benarsi Dass from Jaunpur was for a short while engaged in money lending in Agra with and without security.[63]

The bankers had banking connections with all the important cities of India and abroad e.g. Alleppo, Persia and Constantipole. The system of cashing money in Agra was through bills of exchange issued from any city. The merchants of Burhanpur, Surat and Patna were given money in Agra on presentation of such bills.[64]

Throughout the Mughal period the emperors were favourable in their attitude to various European nations who wished to establish their trade with India, by giving them license for trading. The maintenance of close commercial relations with foreign companies and traders had some influence in moulding the economy of the city. But the greater impetus to the economy came from the Indian merchants and traders. It is quite probable that the city's economic activities were enhanced initially by the presence of the imperial court at Agra. However, the comings and goings of the Royal camp from Agra did not affect the prosperity of the city once it had reached a certain level of economic stability. The uninterrupted trade and commerce of the city was a striking proof of this. There was enormous permanent a population during 16 and 17 centuries which existed quite independently of the imperial camp.[65]

---

[62] Ibid., p.42
[63] Ibid., p.42
[64] Ibid., pp.42-43
[65] Ibid., pp.43-44

3.8 AHMEDABAD

Ferishta takes Ahmedabad as the "*handsomest city*" in Hindustan and perhaps in the world." With its 360 *mahullahs* or wards and principal streets which were sufficiently wide to allow ten carriages abreast. *Pelsaert* gives an impressive account of the manufacturing and trading of this great city of India. It received a large amount of Patna Silk, the latter producing annually 1000 to 2000 *maunds*, most of which was consumed in Ahmedabad for the manufacture of *Ormesines*, satins, velvets, and various kinds of curious stuffs carpets were also woven here using silk and gold threads. It was great emporium of trade, collecting goods of all descriptions and different parts of the country and exporting them to foreign lands from where a great variety of articles were imported to Ahmedabad for their onward transmission to Delhi, Agra and other inland places to Delhi, Agra and other inland places. *Tavernier* calls it "*one of the largest town in India*"- carrying on a considerable trade in a wide range of items, silk stuffs taking an important position among them. But the most disheartening comments are made by Jahangir about the city. He calls it in various names like a Dustbin, an abode of sickness, the thorn –bed, the house of hell and is amazed to think "*what pleasure or goodness the founder of the city could have seen in a sport so devoid of the favour(of God) as to build a city on it*". In spite of being a dust-bowl, made by its hot and dry atmosphere, it emerged as the principal industrial and commercial–place of Western India, recorded so emphatically by widely travelled European merchantmen like Pelsaert and Tavernier visiting India at the time of Jahangir or little after his death. Thevenot also found the city as "*most carefully kept in order".*[66]

The economic importance of Ahmedabad was immense. Basically two types of trade were found in Ahmedabad that is local trade and the trade occasioned by virtue of its being and entreport to the maritime commerce. It also acted as a major market for Indigo although the Indigo hear was of inferior quality than Biana, not only it was produced for local consumption but also it was meant for export. Saltpetre produced

[66] B.B. Bhattacharya, Urban Development In India (Since pre-historic times), pp. 181-182

around BudhNagar was exported from Ahmedabad. Silk industry was quite prominent, the raw silk imported from Bengal and the Ahmedabad weavers had become experts in manufacturing satins and velvets of all kind and colours. Carpets were also made. Beside this rupee mint Aurangzeb and rupee mint 1595 were also there at Ahmedabad[67]. Ahmedabad when considered from the cotemporary standards would be more in nature of a super magnum rather than an ordinary town though it was just a provincial capital of the Mughal Empire; the most stricking feature of this town was its securities measures in regard to which it had outstripped even the metropolitan towns of the empire. There was a city wall, two forts, several fortress for the *Faujdar*, a wall encircling each *Purah* with a gate which was closed at night, all the forces of the *Mansabdars* to protect the town in the event of emergency and well guarded exists points. It seems that all the securities measures were taken because there was a rich population residing in Ahmedabad. The town was also a major entrepot; it had twenty *mandavis* or grain markets which paid rent to the state. The bulks of goods reaching the *mandavis* were collected from the neighbouring villages. Fruits conserves of Ahmedabad frequently figured amongst the exportable consignment, particularly to Arabia and Iraq. The silken stuff of Ahmedabad were highly esteemed in an around the capital, seven varieties of Silken and a dozen varieties of stuffs worked with gold were regular on sale in Agra market. These silken and golden cloths were exported abroad also the paper produced in several varieties was in great demand in other part of the empire, Arabia and Turkey, while its writing paper was exported specially to Persia. Ahmedabad from business point of view would certainly appear in the first quarter of seventeen century as the most eminent town of the empire.[68]

Notwithstanding its extraordinary size and population, Ahmedabad was well planned. Numerous exit points through its walls connected it with its vicinity, other towns in the region and other important urban centres of the Empire. Inside the town was neat,

---

67 Irfan habib, An Atlas of the Mughal Empire

68 Hamida Khatoon Naqvi, Urbanisation & Urban Centres Under the Great Mughals 1556-1707, pp. 89-90

had long streets which were so wide that ten carts could move abreast. These were well paved. There were several large *bazaars*, *bazaar-i-kalan*, the principal market stood in the centre of the city. These bazaars were well stocked with merchandise, infact almost unique in the choice collection of goods from the world over. The shops were built of burnt bricks, mortared and plastered. These were well arranged and tastefully decorated. The houses of the town- people were fair, built of stone and mortar. An infinite number of mosques were well diffused all over the city. Palaces, mansions, monasteries, mausoleums, *madarshahs*, hospitals, *sarais* and other public utility works were interspersed in the city. A regular department of repair of works existed. If a minor matter of repair was proposed by the *darogha* bearing his signature and the seal affixed, the *diwan* of the *subah* sanctioned the expanses. If it required the imperial sanction the *diwan* of the province forwarded the application to the centre. The same department also supervised the gardens and orchards of the city. While some of these adorned the interior of the town, the larger ones were laid outside beginning at its periphery extending up to several miles away from the town. As a matter of fact the suburban area of Ahmedabad covered by these gardens appears to have been much larger than that of the imperial capitals, Agra, Delhi and Lahore.[69]

Banking being a natural corollary to a prosperous trade numerous bankers flourished at Ahmedabad. *The Bohra bankers* are frequently mentioned in the sources. Principally a Muslim trading community with wide business ramifications maintaining *vakils*(agents) at all important trading centres, it was convenient and profitable for them to be engaged in money transactions as well. Thus they in all probability came to assume the character and role of bankers.[70]

Ahmedabad acted as the chief market for indigo grown in and around Sarkhej lying at a distance of about three *karohs*. In all probability this indigo was first brought to Sarkhej *mandavi* of the town and thence .In addition to the constant demand of the Asian merchants such as Armenians, Persians, and possibly the Gujarati *Bohra*

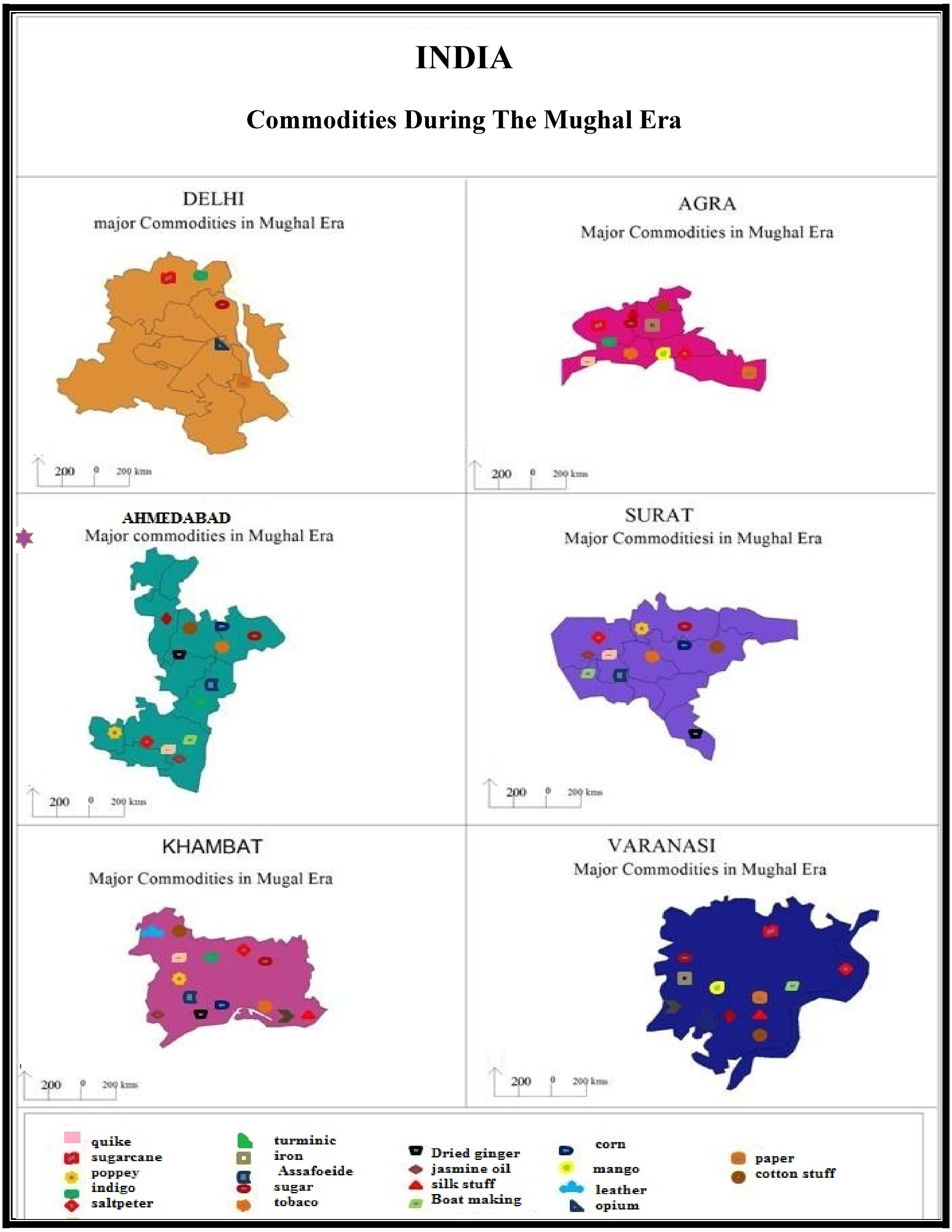
---

[69] Ibid., pp. 102-105
[70] Ibid., pp. 103-105

traders, the European traders also exerted themselves to invest in this commodity. Saltpetre produce around Budnagar was exported from Ahmedabad. Whatever their provenance, the non agricultural merchandise reaching Ahmedabad were unloaded in one of the enclosures designed with a view to assess them for duty as well as to fix their prices. Areas set aside for the purpose had palisades running around them. These were known as *katra parchah* under the Mughals.

There were separate *Katras* for separate commodities and most of them situated close to the town barriers. Ahmedabad must have manufactured numerous varieties of goods. Considering the existence of *sut mandavi* (market of cotton yarn) the weavers ward at Haripura and above all the task of clothing of the town's population running in to several lakhs could not but have made the cotton textile a major industry of Ahmedabad. This would entail constant movements of goods to and fro even if it was merely to obtain specialised services at various points in the process of its manufacture. Thus Ahmedabad from the business point of view would certainly appear in the first quarter of the 17^{th} century as the most eminent town of the Empire.[71]

[71] Ibid., pp. 94-95



Source: An atlas of the Mughal Empire

Map 3.5: **Commodities during the Mughal Empire**

3.9 VARANASI (BANARAS)

Tavernier found it as "*large and very well-built town where the majority of houses were made of rick or cut –stone and loftier than in other cities*." The streets however were very narrow and inconvenient. Cotton and silk stuffs and other merchandise were produced locally and sold in the market. *Palsaert* gives a list of articles manufactured in the city among which textiles and copperwares were important. Bernier, visiting the city on one occasion in 1665 with *Tavenier* as his companion, pays great tribute to this place, having a beautiful situation in the midst of an extremely fine and rich country, developed in to a renowned seat of learning, He calls it the *Athens of India* where learners from all parts of the country used to congregate. According, to Manucci "*In the city is made much cloth worked in gold and silver which is distributed hence all over the Moghul realm, and is exported to many parts of the world.*[72]

It was popular not only for its commercial significance but it was a famous pilgrim of Hindus. Silk stuff, gold and silver embroidery, sugar, calico, chintz, were among the commodities which were traded. It emerges as a significant trading centre regarding cotton textiles. The variety of cotton goods produced at Benaras were excellent , some of them were bordered with gold and silver threads, in view of Abul Fazal and *Palesaert*, there seems to have been an advance in the cities manufacturer as all the subsequent writers agree to the excellent quality of its stuff.[73]

Several varieties were produced were *Chautar, Doriya, Khasa, Gazi, Khairabadi, Calico and Amertees*[74]. The famous silk textile which was available was *Kamkhawab*[75]. Other industries flourishing at Banaras were sugar and in the 18th century opium[76]. Not only temples, mosques were also found in the city. The constant pouring in of the multitudes of devotees within the city must have occasioned considerable commercial traffic which further enhanced the commercial activities of the cities.

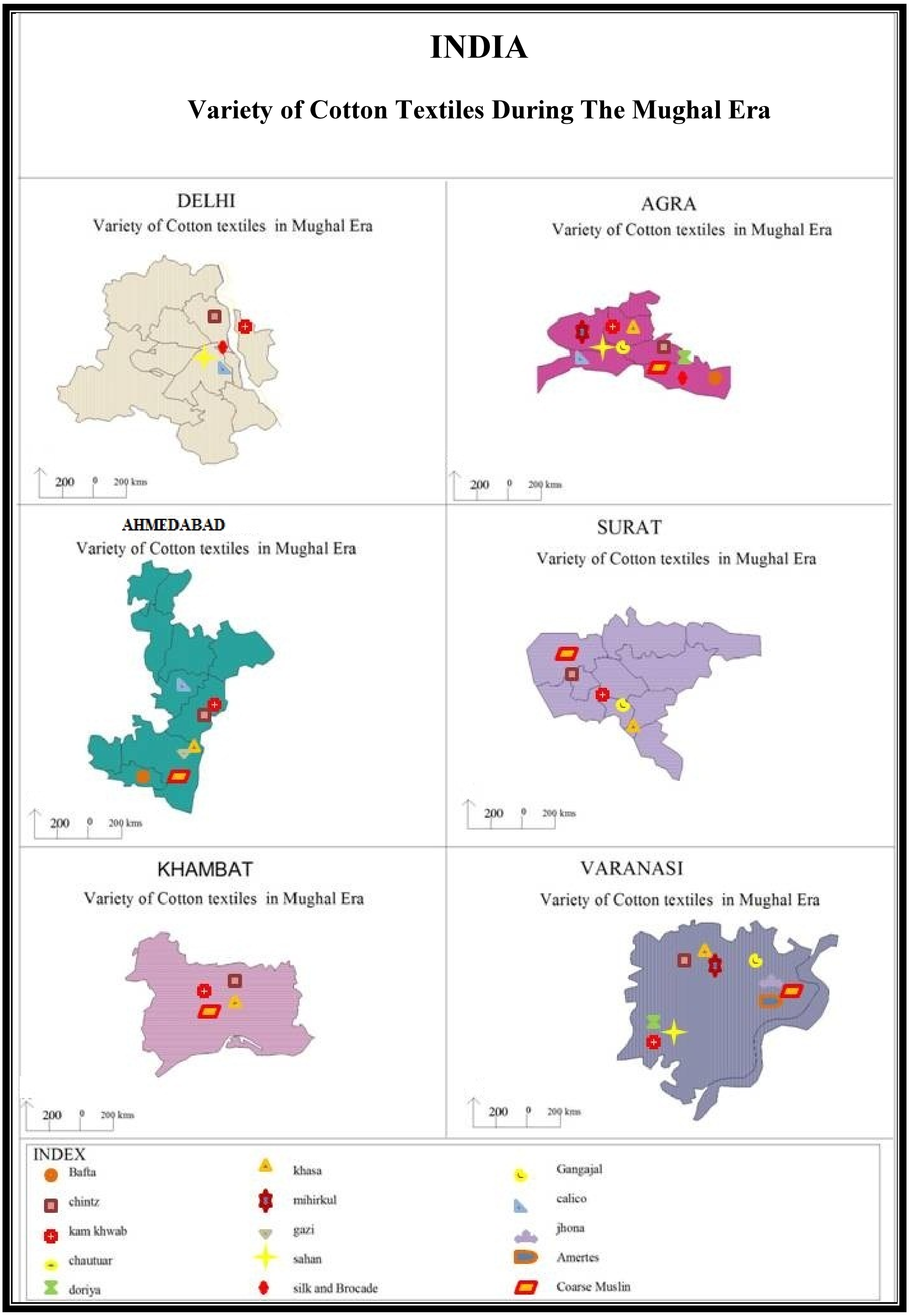
---

72 B.B. Bhattacharya, Urban Development In India(Since pre-historic times), Pp. 182-183
73 Opcit pp-123.
74 Ibid pp-123.
75 Ibid pp -124
76 Opcit pp-124

Table 3.2: Important varieties of cotton

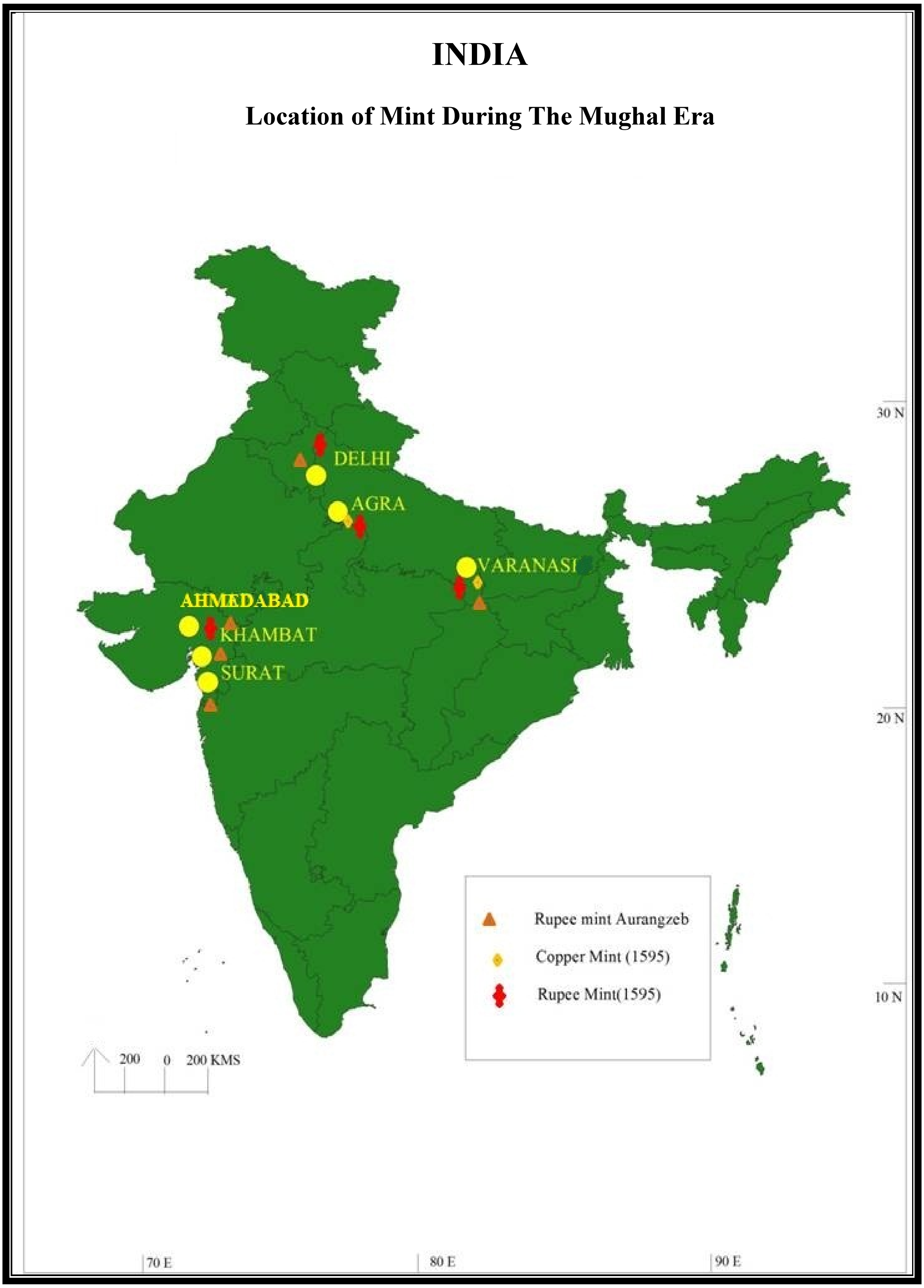
Towns	Variety Produced	Price	Remarks
Agra	Cotton Cloth	………	large quantities
	Cotton fabrics	……..	…….
	Chautar	R.10/- a piece	……..
	Sahan	431 mahmudi for 50 pieces	……..
	Chhint	……….	for exports
	Chokaree	………	……….
	Cotton goods	……	……..
	Cotton goods and tents	……..	their sale in the everyday *nakhas* is noticed
	Cotton fabrics	………	best variety
	Bafta	Rs. 2 to 12 a piece	for exports
	Gazi	…….	10 1/2 or 11 1/2
	Gazi bafta	……..	……..
	Bairamis	…….	for exports
	white fabrics	……	……
	Bafta	……..	for exports
	White cotton goods	………	…….
Benaras	Mindil (defined as a handkerchief, turban, or turban cloth woven with silk and gold threads)	………	for exports
	Thona and Mihirkul	…….	beautifully woven
	Shashes for the Moor and other cotton goods	……..	vast quantity
	Gangajal, girdles, turbans and sari	………	……….
	White cotton goods	………..	Enormous quantity
	White fabrics, fine cotton goods	……….	vast quantity, excellent variety continously woven on 7000 looms in the town; exported to Turkey and Persia
	Cotton goods	……..	active weavers busy in town and a principal source of its wealth
	Malmal	Rs.20 per score	…….
	Doria	Rs. 50 per score	…….
	Chintz	Rs. 22, 20, 27 and 16 per score	…….
	Gazi (Sultahatty Silhati)	Rs. 7, 6 to 4, and 5/8 annas per 100 yards	…….
	Garah	Rs. 40, 35, 30 and 27 per score	…….
	Kharwarah	Rs. 17, 20 and 25 per score	…….
	Tanzeb -i-Jahangiri	Rs. 225 per score	…….
	Rezohee	Rs. 13, 15, 20, 25 and 30 per score	…….
	Cheet Sharand-perry	Rs. 12, 15, 20, 25 and 30 per score	…….
	Cafafyd cheet (closely woven)	Rs. 22, 20, 17 and 16 per score	…….
	Shabnam	Rs. 50/- per piece	…….
	Dastar	Rs. 1 to 7	…….
	Shahangee sooti	Rs. 1/12 yard	…….

Source: Hameeda Khatoon Naqvi (1972) Vol-1,, Urbanisation and Urban Centres under the Mughal 1556-1707, IIAS, Shimla



Source: H.Q.Naqvi, Urbanisation and Industries in upper India 1556-1803

Map 3.6: Variety of cotton textiles during the Mughal Era



Source: An Atlas of the Mughal Empire

Map 3.7: Location of mint during the Mughal Era

3.10 CAMBAY (KHAMBAT)

In Jahangir's memoirs Cambay appears as "*one of the largest port's in Hindustan". It* was a walled city with fine houses where many merchants of distant origin s came and settled. There was a mint for gold and silver coins. But signs of decline were already visible, as noted by *Pelsaert*, largely due to increasing trade which was nearly or almost wholly at an end. A few caravans arrived at the time and that too carried goods for small value. *Tavernier* making similar statement holds the receding sea responsible for vast erosion in trade. In fact this is also mentioned indirectly by Jahangir, stating that the ships could not come directly to Cambay but had to anchor at the port of Goga, lying opposite on Kathiawar coast, from where cargo were carried in small boats to the former. Loss in trade was however was largely made-up by its industrial activities centred mainly on cutting of beautiful Agates and shaping them in to various prize objects, demonstrating high workmanship these along with a superior quality of Indigo had a wide market. *Thevenot* recorded his impression about a decade or so after *Tavernier*, notes that "*the shops are full of aromatic perfumes, spices, silken stuffs.* There are vast no of ivory bracelets agatecups, chaplets and rings made in towns.[77]

In the Medieval period, Cambay developed and established direct trade links with the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. But geography also imposed a certain disadvantages on Cambay, as it was situated at the extreme end of the gulf, and the presence of large sand banks deterred sea going ships from coming to its directly and there was also a dread of tidal bore owing to the narrowing of the gulfs at that point. Cambay could only hold its ground by developing Gandhar and later Gogha as its outer ports, where the large ships could anchor and receive and deliver cargoes from and to Cambay by flat-bottomed light boats called as *Tauris*.[78]

It appears from the testimony of *Ibn Batuta* and from the Portuguese sources that during the fourteenth, fifteenth and early sixteenth century. Gandhar situated to the north of the Narmada River served as the main outer port of Cambay. But during the

---

77 B.B. Bhattacharya, Urban Development In India(Since pre-historic times), p.182

78 Hamida Khatoon Naqvi, Urbanisation & Urban Centres Under the Great Mughals 1556-1707, pp. 106-110

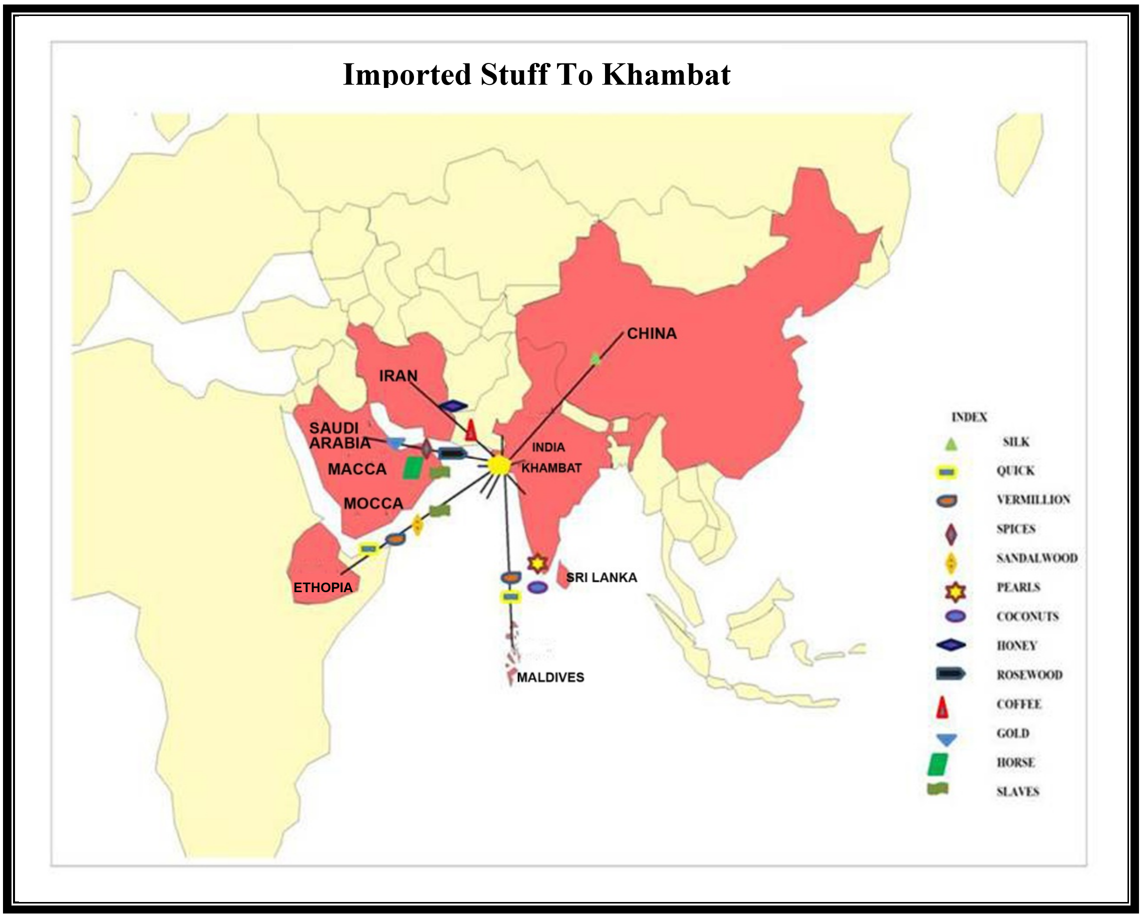
first half of the sixteenth century Gandhar seems to have silted so much that it became unsuitable for anchoring ships. Cambay (with Gogha as its outer port) was thus the main port of Gujarat at the time of final conquest of Gujarat by Akbar in 1572. Because of the conquest not only political and administrative integration of Gujarat with the Mughal Empire took place but also major economic consequences followed it, notably in terms of enlargement of the hinterland of the Gujarat ports and from now onwards, the Gujarat oversees trade had to respond to the needs of Mughal Empire or at least of its inland core i.e. Agra-Delhi area where the court mainly resided along with the great nobility.

The Gujarat ports became increasingly the emporia of exports from the inner zone of the empire and perhaps still more of imports like treasure and horses intended for that zone. The exports too now included goods from the inner zone such as Bayana indigo, raised near Agra, textiles (*Daryabadis* and *Khayrabadis*) from Awadh, and even Bengal silk. The inventories of cargoes of English ships sailed from Gujarat ports bear testimony to how important these exports had become.

Earlier the major route connecting the inner core with the Gulf of Cambay was running through Ahmedabad to Agra via Ajmer. Though it was of shorter distance on the map but the intervening desert and the interference of Chiefs through where territories it had to pass imposed difficulties. An alternative route offering greater advantage became possible when Khandesh was annexed to the Mughal Empire in 1601. The route ran south of Agra through Gwalior and Malwa to Burhanpur and then turned west crossing the Khandesh plains in the southern Gujarat. Once it became available, the rapid growth of Surat at the cost of Cambay in the seventeen century can be seen to be inevitable. The cargo embarked at Cambay for higher sea destination was comprised of three types of goods; one was the local goods, then were the goods collected within the province and goods reaching here from distant and other provinces. Apparently a large variety of goods were exported annually from Cambay and the vessels on their return collected and brought various special goods and commodities of different places. These piece goods were of all varieties these were, white stamped and painted silk stuffs, quilts, carpets too were exported from Cambay indigo, paper, leather goods, dressed hide, opium ,other drugs, iron, large

quantities of sugar, dried ginger, raw cotton, asafoetida, precious stones were enlisted amongst the cargo consigned from Cambay[79].

The vessels reaching Cambay from east delivered silk from China, quicksilver, vermillion, large quantities of spices, sandal woods, Pearls from extreme south of peninsula, Cordge Coconut in large quantity, Oil, Honey from Maldives, Slaves from Zeila[80]. Besides these Rupee mint Aurangzeb was also there at Cambay.



Source: H.K.Naqvi, Urbanisation and Industries in upper India 1556-1803

Map 3.8: Imported Stuff to Khambat

---

[79] Ibid., p.110.
[80] Ibid., p.110

3.11 SURAT

It was already a port of some importance for pilgrim traffic since the Tapti River offered a harbour, while within small discharge silting was not too great a threat. Its advantage as a port was improved by the discovery of a hole, or a natural under sea though opposite the village of Swally, offering excellent anchorage for large ships.[81]

The rise of Surat as a major port at the expense of Cambay is reflected in a dramatic shift of silver minting from Ahmedabad (supplied with silver via cambay) to Surat, to which the silver streams from Europe (via the Red sea and the Cape of good hope) were now diverted. Clearly by the early 1610s, Surat had attained the prominence which remained with it for the rest of the century.

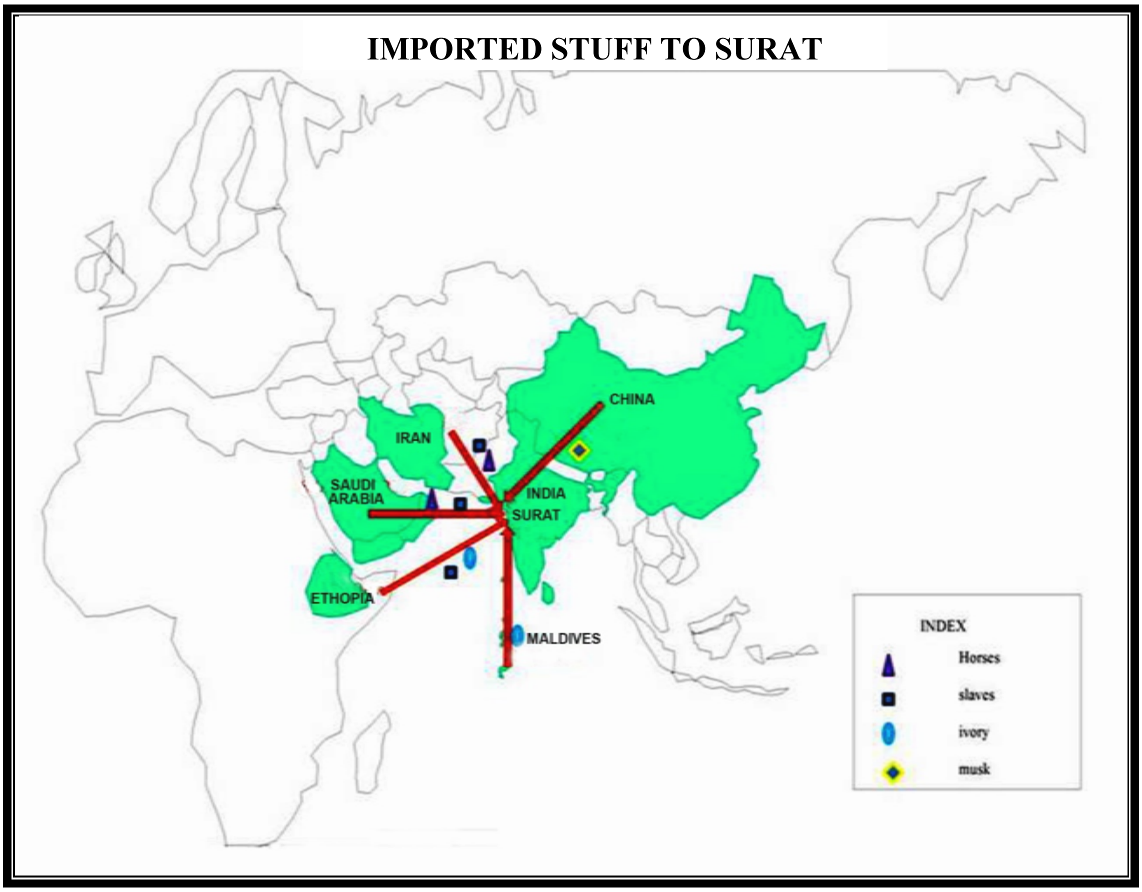
In Gujarat paid revenue in the form of its manufacturers, more particularly Ahmedabad manufacturers the connections would have remained a purely inland one. But if the tax flow was in part in money or in imported commodities like horses, copper, broad cloth or even slaves, the Gujarat port would become involved in the exchanges; and a triangular relationship could develop between Ahmedabad, Surat and Agra, for instance bullion and other imports received at Surat might be transported directly to Agra, while Ahmedabad and inland Gujarat might supply indigo, cotton textiles and other manufacturers to Surat for export. The resulting claims of Ahmedabad on Agra would then be cancelled by the latter's tax claims on the former. This relationship would explain why Surat became the principal Gujarat mint in the seventeen century and began to account for a surprisingly large share in the total mintage of the empire.

In return for bullion transferred inland, Surat might in parts receive manufacturers and goods from its immediate hinterland but additionally exports of inland regions might develop. In this case off course Ahmedabad would have no more significance than a station on one of the two routes connecting Surat and Agra. The connection between the major Gujarat port and the capital city of the empire would be direct.

[81] Hamida Khatoon Naqvi, Urbanisation & Urban Centres Under the Great Mughals 1556-1707, pp. 112-113

Undoubtedly Bayana indigo played a major part in sustaining this relationship till the 1650s; so also textiles from production centre in the upper Ganga basin. However partly because Bengal silk rose to be such an important commodity of world trade after the 1650s , European companies developed direct sea borne commerce with Bengal thereafter. At the same time, Bayana indigo began losing out to the West Indian competition. In the latter half the seventeenth century, Agra and the Imperial heartland would therefore have little for export through European companies via Gujarat and yet Surat continued to inject large amount of bullion into the empire. The only explanation for this would seem to be that export of inland textiles and other commodities to west Asia followed a different pattern and that therefore much of Surat mintage was of bullion received through the Red sea and the Gulf, by and large, the role of Mughal empire in sustaining the briskness of commerce though Gujarat seems to have been significant conversely its decline beginning in Aurangzeb later years initiated a process of construction of the hinterland of Surat. The Hindustani consignment destined for south reached Surat by way of Burhanpur. The goods included Poppy, Indigo, Opium, Iron, Ship building, Pineapple, Gumlac, Spices, Sugar. Sandal etc. While returning to Surat ships brought musk from China, Horses from Arabia, Slaves and Ivory from Ethiopia[82].

[82] Ibid pp -116 – 117.



Source: H.K. Naqvi, Urbanisation and Industries in upper India 1556-1803

Map 3.9: Imported Stuff to Surat

3.12 PRESENT STATUS OF THE MEDIEVAL TOWNS

After studying the Medieval structure of the towns and seeing their potential as trading centres, it would be interesting to know the present status of these towns. All these have evolved over a period of time and have acquired different status, some of them becoming Megacities, Metropolitans, class 2 towns as per the 2001 Census. To have a further idea about these towns their occupational structure as per 2001 census has been taken in to account. Regarding the occupational structure, workforce of each and every town has been studied, emphasizing on the share of the Total workers, Main workers, Marginal workers and Nonworkers and also the share of male and female in each and every category has also been taken in to account.

3.12.1 Agra

Agra is one of the most populous cities in Uttar Pradesh and 19th most populous in India. Agra was the commercial centre of Mughal Empire. According to 2001 India census, the area in sq km which it covers is 140.99.The total population is 1,331,339 out of which 720,707 are males and 610,632 are females. The variation in population since the preceding census is 40.43%.



Source: Census of India

Map 3.10: Agra Tehsil Divisions in 2001

Agra was a prominent town of the Mughal Era. It was the capital at that time and was also an entrepot. Earlier cotton industries, Leather making and carpet industries were of prime significance at Agra. Today several industries are there in Agra. The important once are:

- Iron & Steel (Small)
- Copper and Brass
- Food Processing
- Agricultural Machinery
- Cotton
- Glass work
- Wool
- Leather Goods
- Matches

Cotton & Leather goods were very popular during the Mughal Period and they are still a part of the Industrial structure of Agra.

3.12.1.1 Occupational Structure of Agra

In Agra if one looks at the total number of workers it is 340039, out of which two other categories of workers is derived i.e. main workers and marginal workers i.e. 297921 and 42118 respectively. Male and female both are contributing to main workers as well as marginal workers, however not in equal percentage; rather there is a lot of gap between the contributions of the two sections. Among the total workers 90 percent are males and only 10 percent are females, similarly among the main workers 92 percent are males and only 8 percent are females (see Table 3.3). Under the category of marginal workers 76 percent are male workers and 24 percent are female

(see Table 3.4). The percentage of female workers is less in all the categories i.e. Total workers, Main workers, Marginal workers, however the percentage of female worker is relatively higher when it comes to the category of marginal workers i.e. (those persons who worked less than six months) it is showing that there is relatively a higher number of women who are working for a shorter span of time i.e. less than six months. Overall their percentage is low but when it comes to a work structure which is for a shorter duration their number shows some increment. Regarding the share of male workers it is high in all categories. 90, 92 and 76 percent respectively. When it comes to non-workers, the percentage of female is higher i.e. 58 percent in comparison to the male percentage i.e. 42 percent (see Table 3.5) The less percentage of female workers in all the categories i.e. Total workers, Main workers, and Marginal workers gives testimony to their high percentage when it comes to Non-workers.

3.12.2 Ahmedabad

Ahmedabad is the largest city and former capital of the Indian state of Gujarat. With a city population of more than 5.5 million and an extended population of 6.3 million it is the fifth largest city and seventh largest metropolitan area of India. During the British rule, this city established itself as the home of a developing textile industry and was nicknamed Manchester of the East. In the post liberalization period the city's economic performance in tertiary sector activities like commerce, communication and construction has been commendable. According to census of India, 2001 the area it comprises is 438.40 sq. km. The total population is 4,525,013 out of which 2,401,422 are males and 2,123,591 are females. The variation since the preceding census is 34.50%.

Basically it acted as an entrepot during the Mughal Era. But today it is one of the most industrialized cities of India. Which is very famous for cotton, the other industries which are there are:

- Agricultural Machinery
- Brass & Copper
- Cement
- Chemicals
- Pharmaceuticals
- Vegetable Oils
- Silk
- Plastic Goods
- Synthetic
- Glass Work
- Leather Goods
- Paper
- Rubber Goods
- Plywood Boards
- Matches

3.12.2.1 Occupational Structure of Ahmedabad

The number of Total workers in Ahmedabad is 1130686, out of which 1077011 are the main workers and 53675 are the marginal workers. Among the total workers 87 percent are male and 13 percent are females. Among the main workers 89 percent are male and 11 percent are female (see table no.3.3), among the marginal workers 50 percent are female and 50 percent are male (see table no.3.4). The number of Nonworkers in Ahmedabad is 2404105 out of which 63 percent are female and 37 percent are male (see table no. 3.5), if one looks at the overall workforce 68 percent are the Nonworkers and 30 percent are the main workers and 2 percent are the marginal workers.



Source: Census of India

Map 3.11: Ahmedabad Tehsil divisions in 2001

3.12.3 Delhi

Delhi, officially the national capital territory (NCT) that includes the Indian capital New Delhi is the second most populous metropolis in India after Mumbai with a population of 16.3 million in 2011. The city is also the eighth most populous metropolis in the world. The NCT and its urban region have been given the special status of National Capital Region under the Constitution of India's 69th amendment act of 1991. According to the 2001 census, the Delhi Urban Agglomeration comprises an area of 888.74 sq. km.

Delhi being the capital, has a lot of industries almost all the industries are located here, no matter big or small. Regarding the industries Delhi has a wide range from:

- Iron & Steel (small
- Aircraft Building
- Food processing
- Radio & Electronic
- Vegetable Oils
- Chemicals
- Plastic Goods
- Plywood Boards
- Glass Work.
- Automobiles
- Agricultural Machinery
- Copper and Brass
- Cement
- Pharmaceuticals
- Synthetic
- Rubber Goods
- Paper
- Leather Goods



Source: Census of India

Map 3.12: Delhi Zone Map 2001

3.12.3.1 Occupational Structure of Delhi

According to the census of India 2001 the total number of workers is quite high when compared to the other towns it is 4244170, Delhi being the capital city of the country comes as the main reason with offering a lot of opportunities regarding economic activities, out of this huge numbers 4043839 are the Main workers and 200331 are Marginal workers. The share of female workers in total workers is 13 percent and male is 87 percent. Among the Main workers 12 percent are female and 88 percent are male (see table no.3.3). Among the Marginal workers 26 percent are female and 74 percent are male (see table no. 3.4). In the capital city also similar trend is being found where we see that the share of female is low but higher when compared to the other towns , Also it is only under the Marginal workers that the percentage of female is relatively higher. When it comes to Non-workers the number of total workers is 866160 out of which 61 percent are female and male accounts for 39 percent (see table no. 3.5). The higher percentage of female in non-workers shows that there is a higher number of female which comes as dependent population overall workforce if we see 58 percent come as Non-workers, 41 percent as Main workers and only 2 percent as Marginal workers.

3.12.4 Khambat(Cambay)

Khambat, formerly known as Cambay is a city in Anand district of Gujarat. It was formerly an important trading centre for silk, chintz and gold items but because its harbour has gradually silted up, the maritime trade has moved elsewhere. No concrete steps have been taken by the local government to revive the business in the town. As of 2001 India census, the area covered in sq km is 80.24. Khambat has a population of 93,194 out of which males constitute 47,960 are males and 45,234 are females. The variation in the population since the preceding census is 3.74%. Not many industries are found at khambhat. Only few industries like cotton, textiles, paper, etc. are a part of khambat's industrial structure.

3.12.4.1 Occupational Structure of Khambat(Cambay)

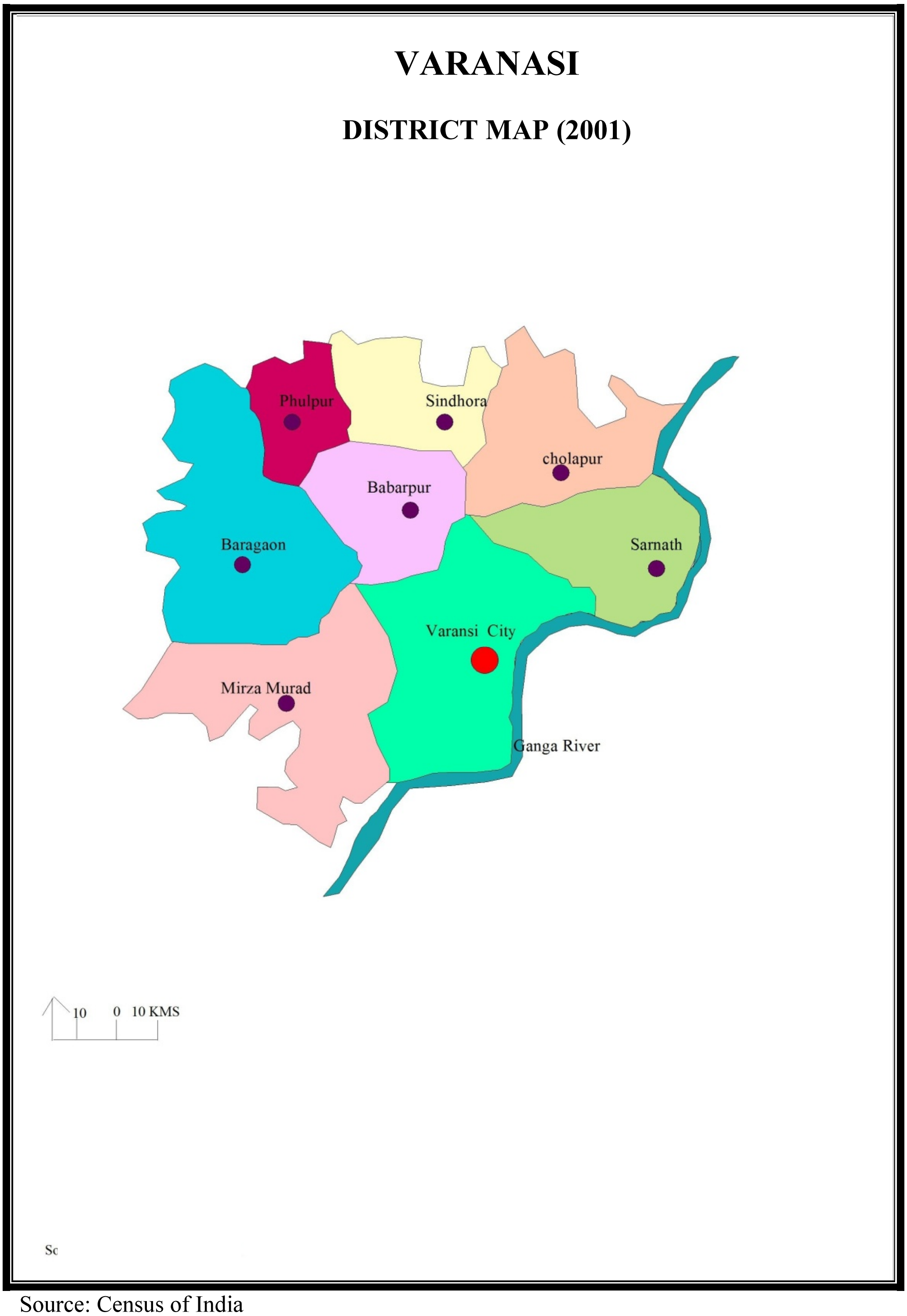
The number of Total workers in Khambat is 26857, out of which 24636 are the main workers and 2221 are the marginal workers. Among the total workers 83 percent are male and 17 percent are females. Among the main workers 87 percent are male and 13 percent are female (see table no. 3.3), among the marginal workers 58 percent are female and 42 percent are males (see table no. 3.4). The number of Non-workers in Khambat is 53595 out of which 65 percent are female and 35 percent are male (see table no. 3.5), if one looks at the overall workforce 67 percent are the Non-workers and 31 percent are the main workers and 3 percent are the marginal workers.

3.12.5 Varanasi (Banaras)

Varanasi which is the spiritual and religious centre of India is one of the oldest continuously inhabited cities in the world and the oldest in India. Varanasi's economy is primarily dependent on manufacturing and tourism. Varanasi's manufacturing industry is dominated by small-scale industries and household production, primarily silk weaving. According to the 2001 census, the area it covers in sq km is 111.31. The total population is 1,203,961 out of which 643.043 are males and 560.918 are females. The variation in the population since the preceding census is 16.79%.

It was the most significant centre of cotton during the Mughal Era. Different varieties of cotton were available in Varanasi. The contemporary structure of Varanasi still has cotton as an important part, besides that it includes:

- Locomotive's
- Automobiles
- Agricultural Machinery
- Food Processing
- Silk
- Vegetable Oils
- Fertilizers
- Chemicals
- DDT & Insecticides



Source: Census of India

Map 3.13: Varanasi District Map

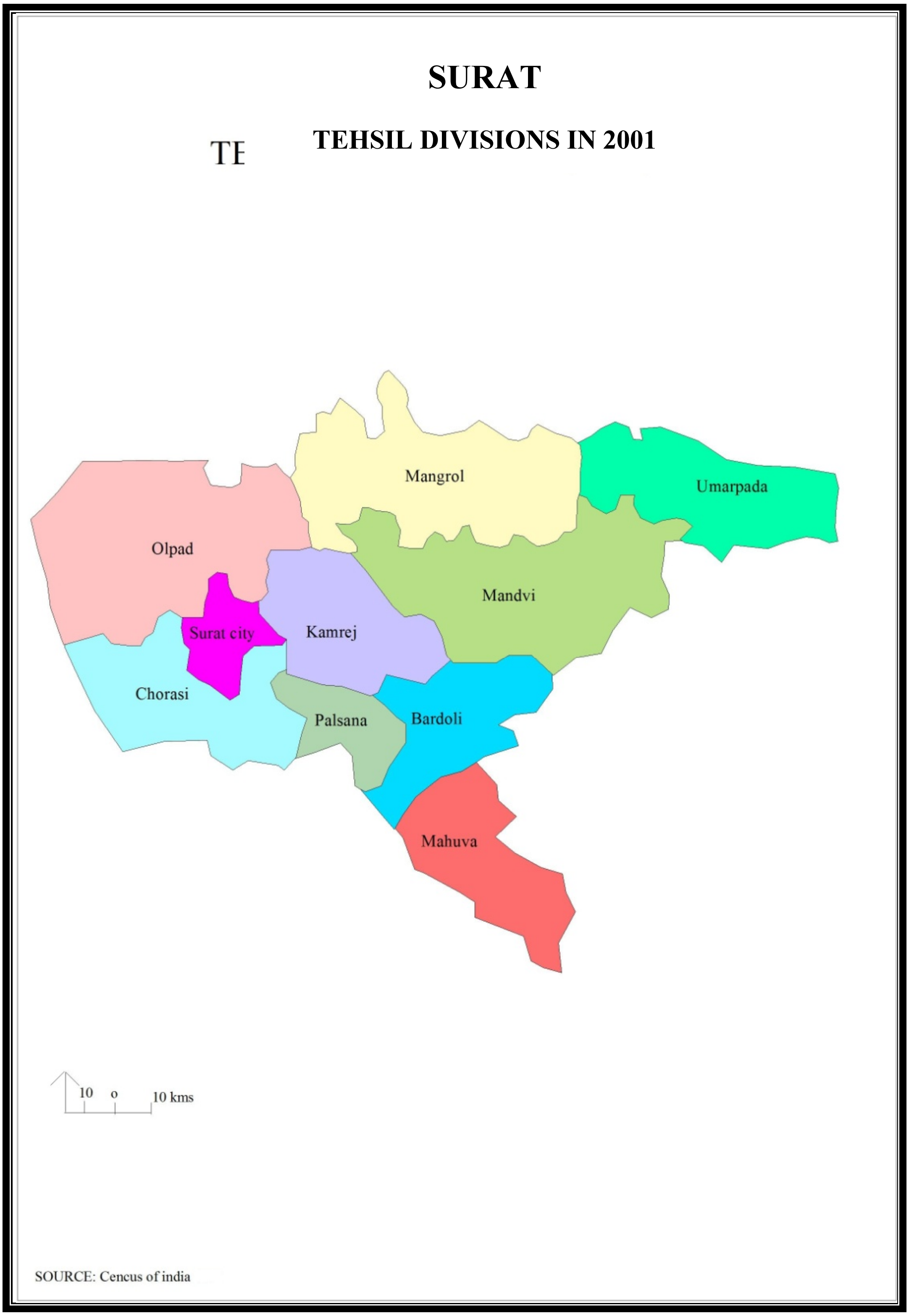
3.12.5.1 Occupational Structure of Varanasi (Banaras)

The number of Total workers in Varanasi is 319832, out of which 284712 are the main workers and 35120 are the marginal workers. Among the total workers 85 percent are male and 15 percent are females. Among the main workers 89 percent are male and 11 percent are female (see table no.3.3), among the marginal workers 47 percent are female and 53 percent are males (see table no.3.4). The number of Non-workers in Varanasi is 789345 out of which 59 percent are female and 41 percent are male (see table no.3.5), if one looks at the overall workforce 71 percent are the Non-workers and 26 percent are the main workers and 3 percent are the marginal workers.

3.12.6 Surat

Surat is a well-developed metropolis and second largest city of the Indian state of Gujarat. It is one of the fastest growing cities of the world specially so when it comes to economic prosperity. The city is known for its textile and diamond businesses. 92% of the world's diamonds are cut and polished in Gujarat. According to the 2001 India census, the area in sq km is 236.91, the total population of Surat's urban agglomeration is 2,811,614 out of which 1,597,156 are males and 1,214,458 are females. The variation in the population since the preceding census is 85.64%. The major industries of Surat are as following:

- Cotton
- Paper
- Plastic Goods
- Silk
- Chemicals
- Rubber Goods

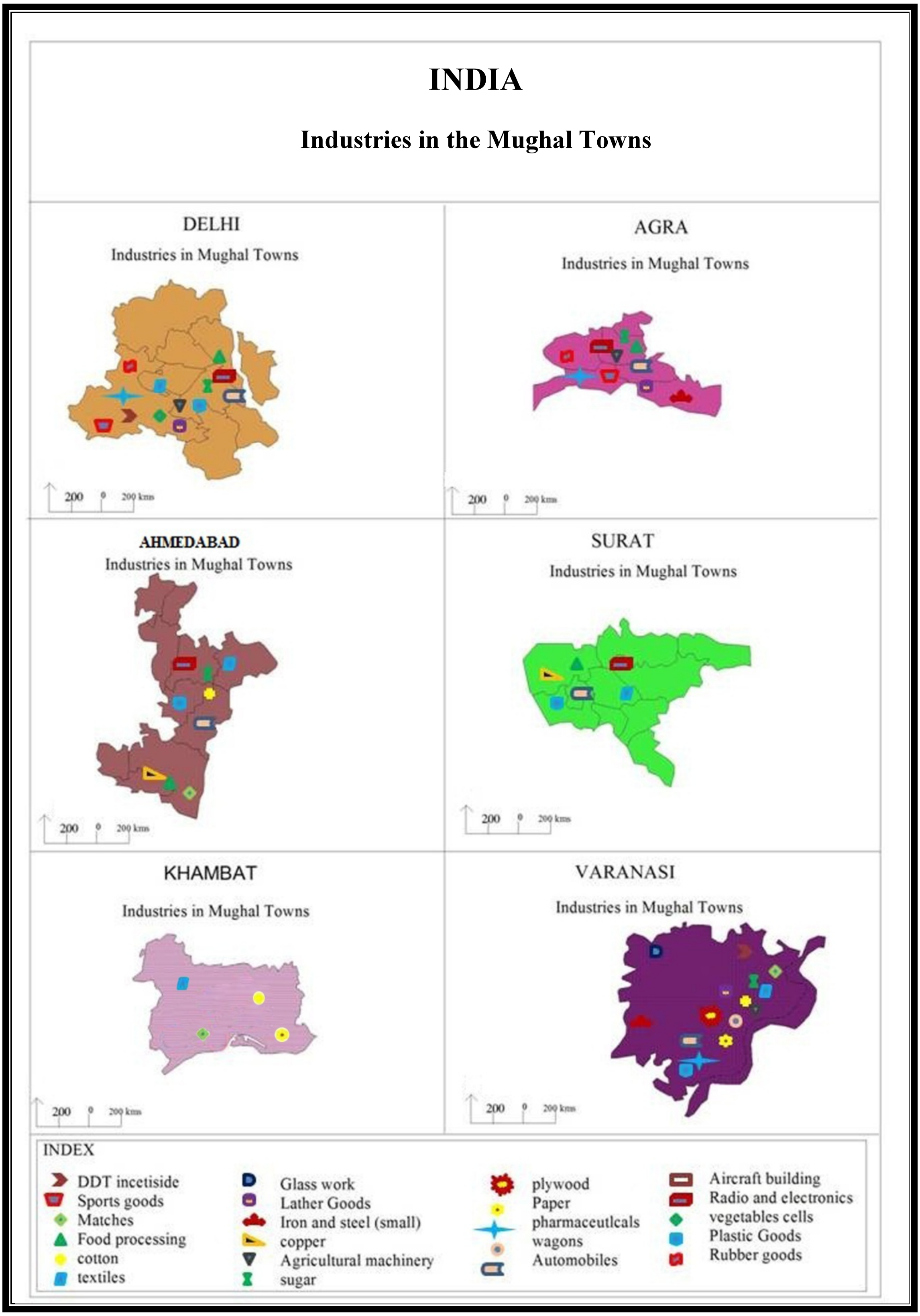


Source: Census of India

Map 3.14: Surat Tehsil Divisions in 2001

3.12.6.1 Occupational Structure of Surat

The number of Total workers in Surat is 929275, out of which 909694 are the main workers and 19581 are the marginal workers. Among the total workers 90 percent are male and 10 percent are females. Among the main workers 91 percent are male and 9 percent are female (see Table no.3.3), among the marginal workers 59 percent are female and 41 percent are males (see Table no. 3.4). The number of Non-workers in Surat is 1504560 out of which 65 percent are female and 35 percent are male (see Table no. 3.5), if one looks at the overall workforce 62 percent are the Non-workers and 37 percent are the main workers and 1percent are the marginal workers.



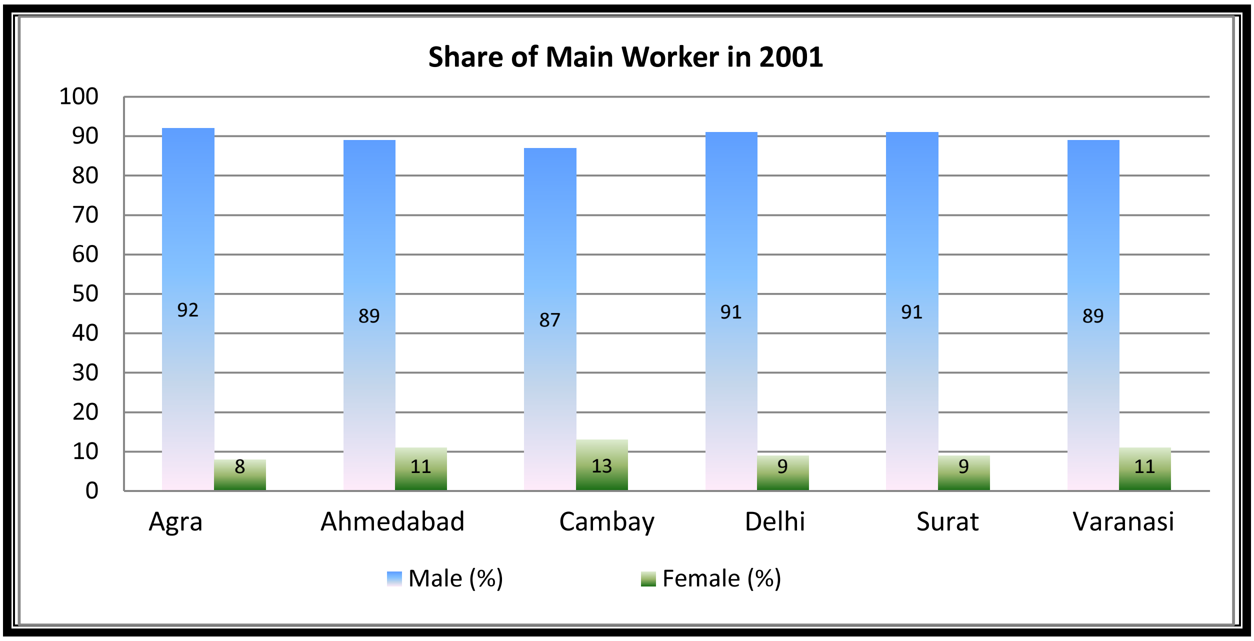
Source: Encyclopedia of Industries

Map 3.15: Industries in the Mughal Towns

Table 3.3: Share of Main Workers in 2001

Towns	Male (%)	Female (%)
Agra	92	8
Ahmedabad	89	11
Cambay	87	13
Delhi	91	9
Surat	91	9
Varanasi	89	11

Source: Census of India 2001



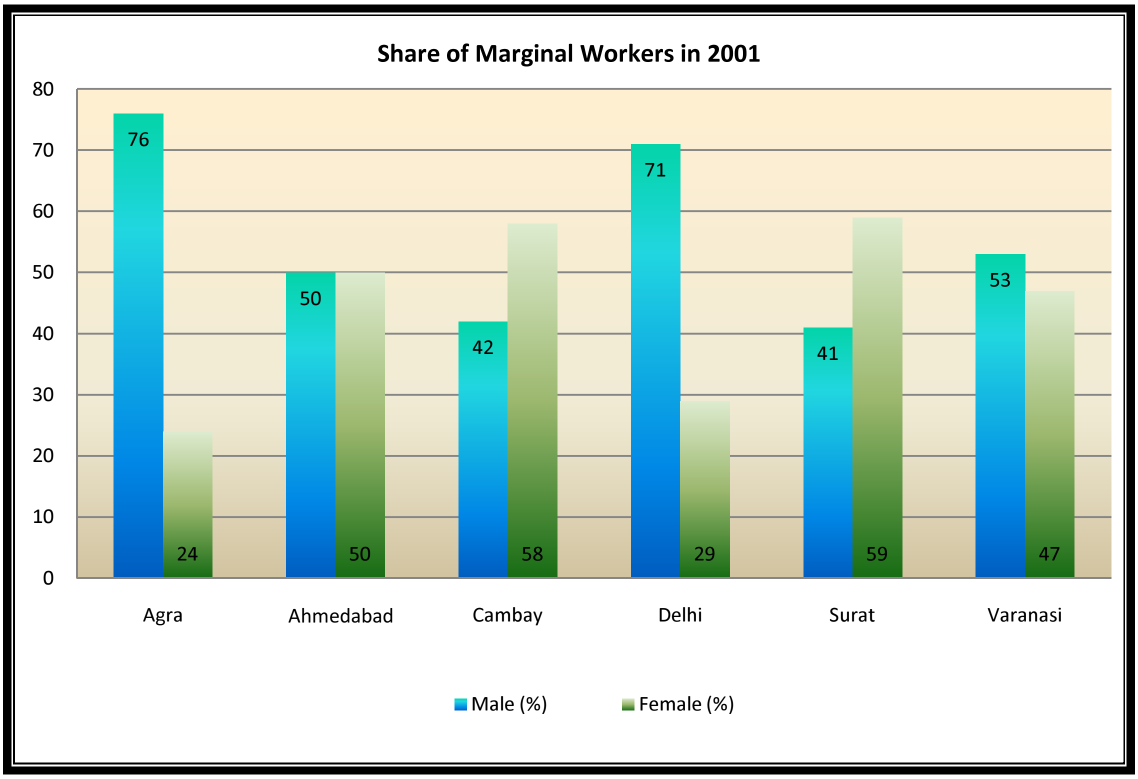
Source: Census of India, 2001

Figure 3.1: Share of Main Worker in 2001

Table 3.4: Share of Marginal Workers in 2001

Towns	Male (%)	Female (%)
Agra	76	24
Ahmedabad	50	50
Cambay	42	58
Delhi	71	29
Surat	41	59
Varanasi	53	47

Sources: Census of India, 2001



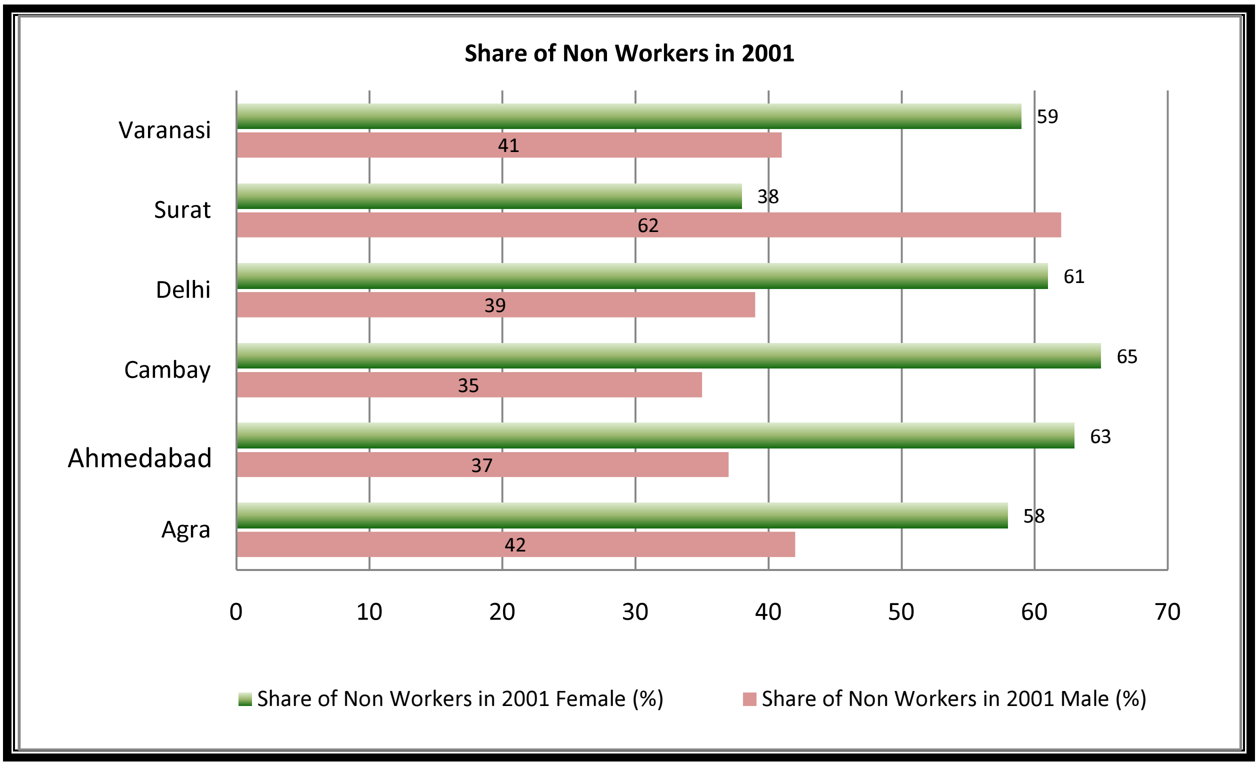
Source: Census of India, 2001

Figure 3.2: Share of Marginal Workers in 2001

Table 3.5: Share of Non Workers in 2001

Towns	Male (%)	Female (%)
Agra	42	58
Ahmedabad	37	63
Cambay	35	65
Delhi	39	61
Surat	62	38
Varanasi	41	59

Sources: Census of India, 2001



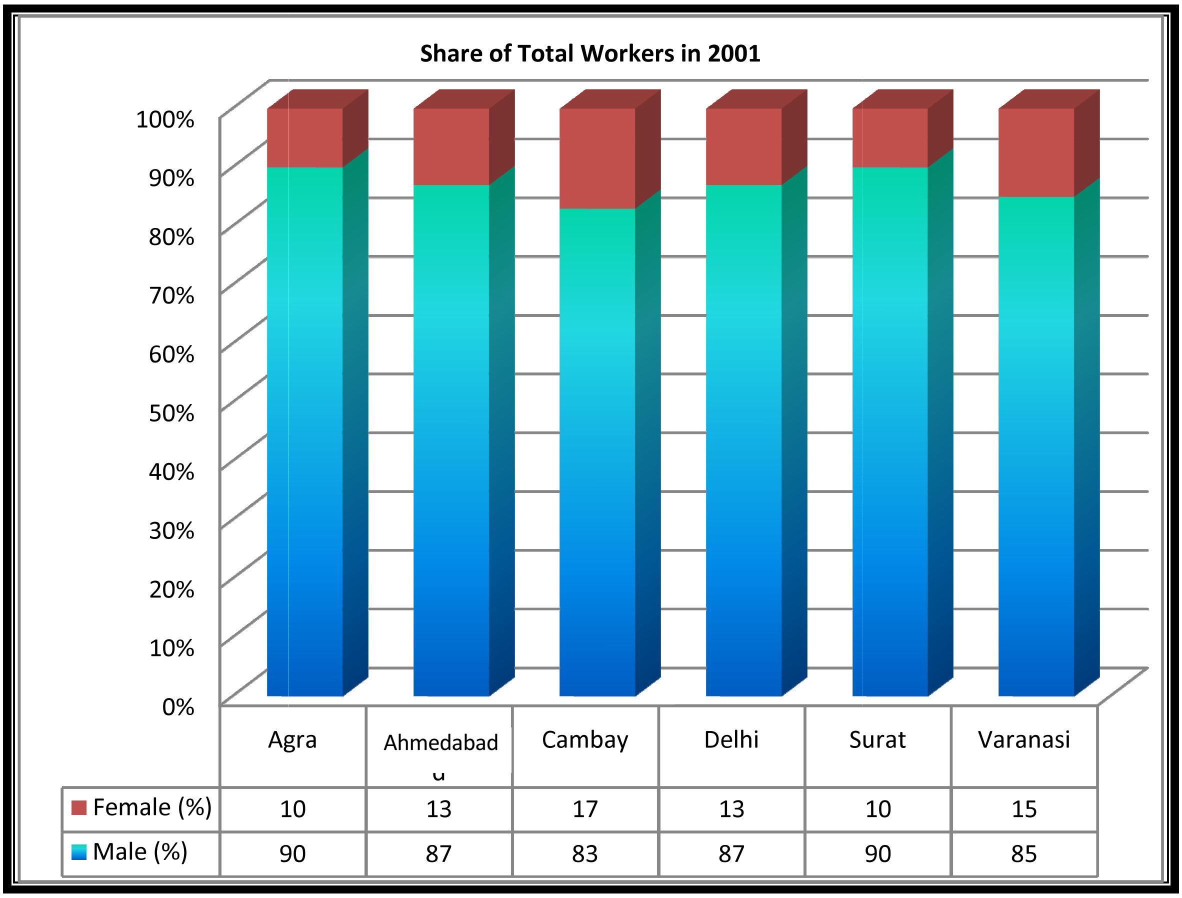
Source: Census of India, 2001

Figure 3.3: Share of Non-Workers in 2001

Table 3.6: Share of Total Workers in 2001

Towns	**Male (%)**	**Female (%)**
Agra	90	10
Ahmedabad	87	13
Cambay	83	17
Delhi	87	13
Surat	90	10
Varanasi	85	15

Source: Census of India, 2001



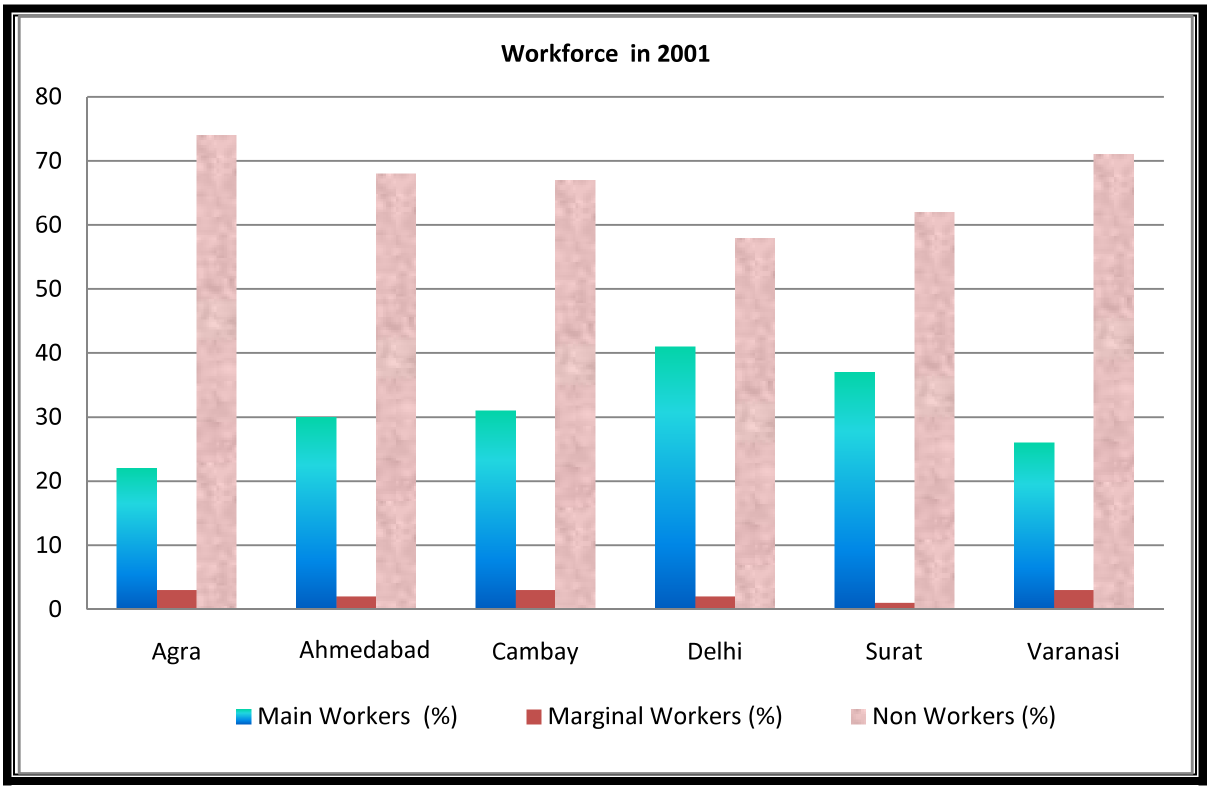
Source: Census of India, 2001

Figure 3.4: Share of Total Workers in 2001

Table 3.7: Workforce in 2001

Towns	Main Workers (%)	Marginal Workers (%)	Non Workers (%)
Agra	22	3	74
Ahmedabad	30	2	68
Cambay	31	3	67
Delhi	41	2	58
Surat	37	1	62
Varanasi	26	3	71

Source: Census of India, 2001



Source: Census of India, 2001

Figure 3.5: Workforce in 2001

Chapter 4
Mughal Administration

CHAPTER 4

MUGHAL ADMINISTRATION

The Mughal emperors established a broad administrative system in India. In the existing administrative machinery, which they inherited from their predecessors, the sultans of Delhi, the Mughal emperor certainly introduced many new features. The most fundamental position was occupied by the central government in the administrative set up the Mughals.

4.1 THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

4.1.1 The Emperor

The pivot of the entire administrative machinery in Mughal India was the emperor[1]. He combined in himself all civil and military powers. He was the commander in chief, the chief executive; the highest judge against whose decision there was no appeal, and the chief legislative authority. He made all significant appointments throughout the Mughal Empire. He levied whatever taxes he wanted to and spent whatever had been collected as when he liked. Being not answerable to any earthly authority, the emperor held all strings of administration in his hands[2].

As most of the time of Babur and Humayun was spent in military campaigns, they had not laid down the prototype of work. It was Akbar who evolved a system of daily work, writing about him *Dension Rose* remarks "*Akbar's day was both long and strenuous, beginning as it did with the public appearance soon after sunrise and continuing often until long after sunset, the morning work usually occupying four and half-hours a stretch.*"

The emperor was expected to hold court at least five days a week. He appeared daily at the salutation balcony or *jharoka* till Aurangzeb discontinued this practice. On the occasion of the *jharokha-i-Darshan* the subjects of the emperor were supposed have

1 Ibn Hasan, The Central structure of the Moghul Empire(Lahore 1936)
2 S.R. Sharma, Moghul government and administration (Bombay,1951)

to unhindered approach to him in the courtyard below the balcony. Petition could be submitted by the supply-can who could expect swift justice then there from the Emperor.

The Emperor met his high officers the *Mir bakshi* and the *diwan*, sometimes the *khan-i-saman* in the private apartment, which was the *ghusal khana*. Akbar in the beginning admitted only a few trusted persons to this apartment. Subsequently this rigidity was relinquished. In addition to the *Vazir* and *Mir Bakshi*, some key nobles of the imperial court were also permitted to join his discussions. The successors of Akbar continued this practice of transacting noteworthy state business in the *ghusal khana*.

The greater part of public business of the Mughal government was however, transacted in *Diwan-i-Khas–o-Aman* and this may be called a Court of Commoners as it was open to all. It was a court of justice, an executive council, a legislature and defence council rolled in to one. Here the representatives of independent rulers and agent of high dignitaries were granted audience by the Emperor. On assumption of office, on transfer and while passing through the capital all high officers were expected to take royal permission to attend it. The Emperor intermittently reviewed the troops stationed at the capital and inspected the stores and workshops, i.e. *karkhanas.* Aurangzeb effected some other changes. A public *darbar* was held in the forenoon and selected audience in the afternoon thus splitting the work in to the two separate meetings distinguished as *Diwan-i-Khas* respectively.

The court in practice moved with the Emperor. Naturally a camp office accompanied him wherever he went, except he was bent on recreation. Therefore the daily schedule of the Emperor was fairly systematic and strenuous. Even when the Mughal Empire was in the process of decay and the effectiveness and working of the administration was fast dwindling one find the aged Aurangzeb performing his daily routine with utmost zeal.[3]

[3] M.A.Ali, The Moghul Nobility under Aurangzeb(London 1966)

4.1.2 The Ministers

No monarch, even the most absolutist, has ever been able to rule his state unassisted. Ministers and ministries were the need of the hour. The credit for properly organising ministries at the centre goes to Akbar. These officers could decide specific problems on their own, but for others they had to take imperial orders. Attempts were every now and then made by interested parties to approach the Emperor without delay. The court records of Aurangzeb at least show that such attempts were rarely successful. Such representations were usually referred to the appropriate ministry for its recommendation.

The Mughal Emperor had the following ministries to assist and to conduct day to day work.

4.1.2.1 The Vakil

The office of the *Vakil* seems to have come in to eminence under the Mughal rule when Akbar was a minor and Bairam Khan acted on his behalf as his deputy or *vakil*. The office of the *Vakil* slowly but surely lost its significance. After Bairam Khan many persons were appointed to this desirable post of the *Vakil* but with the exception of Asaf Khan none seems to have the benefit of political powers, in fact it became an honorary office.

4.1.2.2 The Vazir

In the course of development the *Vazir* assumed an important position among the ministers of the state and took away many of the powers enjoyed by the *Vakil*. Since the finances of the state were placed under his control he was called *Diwan-i-Ala* also. In this capability he dealt with all papers related to revenue and decided cases connected with organisation, assessment and collection of revenue. In shaping the policies of the government he seems to have bigger say in comparison with other ministries.

4.1.2.3 The Mir Bakshi

He is wrongly regarded as the paymaster of the army but according to *Ibn Hasan*, making payment to the army was "*not a part of his regular and permanent duties*. He was concerned with the financial matters only when the army was on active service. Thus during the peace time when the army was not deployed for campaigns and battles it received salaries from the office of the *Vazir*. He was not entrusted with the disbursement of salaries[4]. Otherwise duties of the *Mir Bakshi* were far from extensive. The *Mir Bakshi* was the head of the military department. He reserved records of all appointments, promotions, demotions, leave granted, advances made and realised. He arranged for the payment of salaries in cash and by *jagirs* i.e. authority to collect a specified amount of land revenue from specified areas of land after the *diwan* or the *Vazir* had sent the appropriate orders to him[5]. He was the chief establishment officer who passed all the salary bills. On the battle – field, he acted as the chief military advisor of the Emperor. Every province had a provincial *Bakshi*.

4.1.2.4 The Khan-i- Saman or Mir Saman

He was accountable of stores, supplies, public works, royal industries and commerce. He met all the needs of the Emperor and the imperial palace. He supervised public works, organised and ran imperial workshops. The *Khan-i-Saman* or *Mir Saman* was responsible for the quality of what they produced. Robes of office and the honour were supplied by him to all vital public servants before they could assume office. It is also to be noted that all important official papers were required to be countersigned by the *Mir Saman.*

4.1.2.5 The Sadr

The office of the *Sadr*, the chief *Qazi* and the chief *Mufti* are often separately mentioned, but in practice, the *Sadr* combined in his person the office of the chief *Qazi*. On exceptional occasion however, we come across names of separate holders of these offices. Usually it is the *Sadr* acting in one or the other capacity. To begin with

[4] W.H. Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzeb: A Study in the Indian Economic History (London 1932)
[5] Ibid. pp. 30-130

the *Sadr* occupied central position in the early years of Akbar's reign but in the subsequent period the power of this office was much curtailed, *Ibn Hasan*, the well-known authority on the Mughal Administration thus writes:

> "*his (Sadr) powers, from the administrative point of view, were curtailed first by the internal arrangements of the administrative machinery by which all grants of lands by the Sadr passed through the hands of all other ministries, secondly, by restrictions imposed on the use of power of making such grants and thirdly by the creation of provincial sadrs*"

During the reigns of Akbar's successors the administrative powers of the *Sadr* remained in regard to the distribution of land grants.

The *Sadr* was also the head of the judiciary. But in this respect also his authority suffered because of the kings "*holding weekly courts on a regular basis and paying more personal attention to judicial work*".

4.2 HIGH BANKING OFFICERS

In addition to the ministers there were many other important officers like the following:

4.2.1 The Imperial News writer

The Imperial News writer was the head of the intelligence agency which was in charge for gathering information from every part of the Empire. The news writer in every province sent news and intelligence to the imperial News writer. He also received the reports of the news writers that accompanied the military expeditions. He read the reports sent by them –or such extracts as he thought pertinent –in the court or passed them to the *diwan* (*Vazir*) if they had first to be discussed in the private audience chamber of the emperor. He took the orders of the court as they were passed there and read them out the next day for confirmation.

4.2.2 The Superintendent of Posts

This incumbent organised a postal service for the distribution and communication of royal orders and for conveying to the court the news–letters and intelligence gathered by news-writers of various sorts.

4.2.3 The Chief Muhtasib

The *Chief Muhtasib* also operated as the Inspector–general of Weights and Measures in addition to being the chief Censor. Under Aurangzeb, his functions as a censor overshadowed his work as the inspector–general of weights and Measures. His main duty now becomes the enforcement of the religious policy of the Emperor. As the list of things and acts unlawful and prohibited expanded so did the functions and powers of this officer. As a censor, he was set above all public servants did not like his prying in to their private lives and public conduct and that there are many instances of occasional conflict between the high ranking officers and the *Muhtasib*.

The fact that all these ministers and officers held their offices at the amiable will of the Emperor, and they were answerable to him alone undoubtedly restricted their authority, initiative and personal effort. Nevertheless they were not sheer non-entities. Every one of them had some support in the ruling group of the empire. For this reason; their advice could not be summarily disregarded. However, in the last analysis, everything ultimately depended on the strength or weakness of the sovereign.

4.3 ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

The Emperor was the source of the administrative authority, including the dispensing of justice[6]. For that reason, all the Mughals rulers fixed one day in a week for this purpose. Thursday was fixed in the time of Akbar. Tuesday was fixed in the case of Jahangir. Wednesday was allotted during the rule of Shah Jahan. Aurangzeb continued this practice. In addition the emperor was the highest court of justice which tried both civil and criminal cases. He was certainly assisted by the *Qazi*. Moreover it

[6] Mohammad, Akbar., The Administration of Justice by the Moghuls(Lahore,1948)

was the *Darogha-i-Adalt* who presented petitions to him. When authoritative interpretation of law was necessary, the issue was referred to a bench of *qazis* for opinion or it could also be referred to special Bench constituted for the purpose. When there was an appeal the Emperor presided it over other *Qazis* and this court gave its verdict both on questions of law and fact.

The *Sadr* or *Qazi-ul-Quzat* was the chief justice of the Empire. It is he who administered the oath of accession of the sovereign and order *khulbah* to be read in the name of the new sovereign. He also had power to put on trial original criminal and civil suits. He even administered the working of the provincial courts.

4.4 PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

As the many other fields, once again one must recognize the administrative skill of Akbar who organised a homogeneous pattern of administrative structure at the provincial level which proved to be sound, stable and well-organized. In this set-up he had made adequate provisions for local administration[7]. The Empire was divided into provinces in 1594. These are:

- Kabul
- Multan
- Agra
- Allah bad
- Bengal
- Gujarat
- Punjab
- Delhi
- Oudh
- Bihar
- Malwa
- Ajmer

With the spreading out of the Mughal Empire its territories were expanded to the south, and consequently the newly conquered territories were divided into provinces.

[7] Muhammad Akbar, The Administration of Justice by the Mughals (Lahore,1948)

Three new provinces were created: Berar, Khandesh and Ahmadnagar (subsequently known as Daultabad). Orissa seems to have been created out of Bengal under Jahangir. Kashmir was carved out of Kabul, Sind out of Multan, and Bidar out of Ahmadnagar under Shah Jahan. Aurangzeb added Bijapur and Golkunda. Qandhar was under the Mughals for some time as a separate province but it was in due course lost to Iran in 1648.Thus, though officially there were twenty –two provinces in the Empire, in fact these did not exceed twenty-one at any one time.

Each province was headed by a governor and necessary provincial administrative paraphernalia. Under Shah Jahan when a royal Prince was appointed the governor of more than one province separate administrations continue under deputy governors. This happened when the eldest son of Shah Jahan, was the governor both of the Punjab and Multan.

The Mughal territorial claims in the south were humble to begin with. But at one southern kingdom after one another was swallowed by the surging tide of Mughal imperialism it was thought indispensable to create province in every state- or even part of a state taken. Ahmednagar was even split in to two provinces, re-creating Bidar which had been conquered by Ahmednagar earlier. These southern provinces do seem to have been governed by a separate set of officials, even though very often only one governor was appointed to hold them. When Aurangzeb himself was in the Deccan, during the last twenty five years of his reign, the whole area was administered at an emergency footing as the Emperor was engaged in a life –and-death struggle in that peninsula[8].

- Measures to ensure integrity of the empire:

Akbar's predecessors had never thought it safe to build a unit of administration as large as a province for fear that its governor might become excessively powerful. After some harsh experience Shershah had to redivide the province of Bengal in to smaller units. When Akbar created his province, he guarded against the possibility of the governors becoming excessively powerful.

8 Ibid.pp.140-160

The Governor and the provincial *diwan* were made independent of each other: both of them took their orders directly from the Emperor and could therefore act as a check on each other. The military forces stationed in a province had to look to the provincial *Bakshi* for almost every other matter connected with their potential in the services. His representatives accompanied every expedition and supplied in their competence as news writers an independent account of affairs. Combining in himself the office the provincial news writer and the *bakshi* its holder could as yet another check on a striving governor.

Further, Akbar did not permit the governors to be permanently attached to their provinces. He transferred governor long enough in a place to harbour rebellious designs. To cap it all the Emperor repeatedly moved from one province to another, at times on a military mission and at others on an administrative tour. These tours reminded his official as his subject that there was a live Emperor above them.

Under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb the custom of appointing a governor to hold charge of more than one province destroyed one of the important safeguard instituted by Akbar. Aurangzeb preoccupation in the Deccan, the threat of war for twenty five long years. Left the North neglected. Payment by land assignments or the *jagirs* increased. And, recurrently office-holders discovered that they had been cheated as they could not collect the amount due to them from their *jagirs*. It was thus, normal that the integrity of the Empire was destabilized, and the authority of the Emperor diluted.

During the last years of Aurangzeb, s reign his hold over the provincial administration suffered a grave setback. Sometimes after the death of Aurangzeb in 1907 many provincial governors in the North had practically become independent of the central authority. Without formally rejecting the suzerainty of the Mughal Emperors, they to all intents and purposes, exercised the full influence within their domains.

4.4.1 Provincial Officers

Besides the *Subedar* or *Nizam* (governor) every province had a *diwan* or *bakshi* – who also acted as the provincial news writer a *Diwan-Buyutat* representing the *Khan-i-*

Saman and a provincial *Sadr* or *Qazi*[9]. The *diwan* and *bakshi* of the provinces did not take their orders from the *subedar* in the discharge of the duties of their respective departments. They were three officers of equal standing though the governor usually drew a higher salary and acted as the representative of the Emperor in the province.

Every province was divided in to *sarkars* or *mahals* which were subdivided in to *parganas*. The latter was the lowest unit of administration. Every *sarkar* was under a *faujdar*, who was assisted by *kakori* or *amil*, representing the *diwan*.

Every *sarkar* had a *kotwal* at the district headquarters who functioned as the person in command of police and kept law and order. Also there was a *qazi* The imperial workshops of *karkhanas* were mostly located at the headquarters of the *sarkar* and functioned under superintendents who worked under the provincial representatives of the *Khan-i-Saman*.

The *pargana* was mainly a revenue unit under a *tahsildar* or assistant collector of revenue. He was assisted by a *Qanungo* and one or more *chaudharis*. The village *Mukudam* paid the land revenue to the *tahsildar* at the *pargana* who was helped by ample staff for keeping an account of the amounts due receipts and arrear. *Parganas* with a considerable Muslim population usually had *qazi*. A *shiqdar* was either a *tehsildar* known by his pre-mughal title or a lay judge and magistrate.

No government official seems to have been stationed in the village. The *muqaddam* was probably the head of the local *panchayat*. A *patwari* kept record of cultivation and revenue on behalf of the community.

4.4.2 Local Administration of Justice

At the provinces there were four types of law courts

4.4.2.1 Governor's (Nizam's) Court

The court of governor exercised both original and appellate authority. For original suit he usually himself constituted the court. In these suits he was engaged not just to rely

[9] Ibid. pp. 25-110

upon the testimony of the witness or oaths, but he must make every effort to discover to truth. An appeal from his verdict lay with the appellate court at the centre. While hearing appeals from the subordinate courts he was assigned by the *Qazi-i-Subah*.

4.4.2.2 Qazi-I-Subah's Court

His court was actually the head of judicial administration at the provincial level. He too had both original and appellate authority. His judicial duties were copious and his work was of dainty nature many officers were attached to his court and these were *mufti muhtasib*, *daroga-i-Adalat*, *Mir Adi*, and *Waqal Nigar*.

4.4.2.3 Diwan-i-Subah's Court

This court dealt with the revenue cases and also considered appeals against the *Amils* orders. There were courts available at the various subordinate levels such as *adalat*, *pargana*, exercising original civil and criminal authority and the *panchayat* courts at the village level. Cities had their own *kotwal* which dealt inconsequential municipal affairs.

4.5 THE MANSABDARI SYSTEM

The major innovation of Akbar was that he reorganised the entire bureaucracy, whether military or civil on a new basis, which is known as the *Mansabdari* system (*mansab* means rank). As a replacement of creating adhoc commander of various ranks he created sixty–six grades of command from a commander of 10 to a commander of 5000, but in concrete practice there were thirty-three grades. The salary of *Mansabdars* of every grade was fixed. To maintain certain number of horses, elephants and other beasts of burden means of conveyance and his personal expenditure the *mansabdars* were paid either in cash or in *jagir* in accordance to their *mansabs* (ranks)[10]

For a reasonably long time the *mansabdari* system worked suitably and provided needed strength and stability to the Mughal Empire.

[10] William, Irvine., The Army of the Indian Moghuls (London,1902)

4.5.1 The States and Salary of the Mansabdars

The *Mansabs* also indicated the status of every Mughal *mansabdar* and also his salary. Every now clearly new his status in the hierarchy and with innate anxiety to seek promotion to higher grades, he had resilient motivation to be always up and doing and just rest on his oars. By way of a clearer lure of promotion kept flourishing before his eyes he was thus kept on his toes. Each public servant, civil as well as military was enrolled as a *mansabdar* – the holder of rank A persons rank did not essentially denote the extent of his military obligation. It simply represented what was called his *Zat* (personal) rank. His military obligation i.e. The military force that he was to contribute to the state, were denoted by his *sawars* (cavalry) rank[11].

It is nevertheless a matter of controversy as to how to distinguish the two terms the *Zat* and the *Sawar*. It is more liable that by the end of the reign of the Akbar "*the Zat itself became a fictious member*". The *Zat* rank was retained to indicate two things

- The salary of an incumbent in the pay-scale in force
- The holder's appropriate status in official hierarchy

The *sawar* rank merely indicated the number of horseman and horses the *mansabdar* was obliged to maintain.

Generally, the *mansabdars* were given both *Zat* and *Sawar* ranks but there are instances which indicate that not every *mansabdar* had to keep up a well defined force and there are instance of *Zat* rank being conferred without any *Sawar* rank.

There was a difference between person's *Zat* rank (which can be indicated by adding the suffix "*er*" to the rank in question, e.g. 10 *er*, 50*er*, 100*er*, etc.) and the *sawar* rank, as also between his rank and his military obligations the higher the status. Thus, if *Zat* and *Sawar* rank were equal the *mansabdar* was said to be an official of the first class and if it was even less than half he was considered to be of the third class.

There was not much difference in the salary as a consequence as it evident by the fact that in the case of *Panj Hjaris* (i.e.5000) the *mansabdar* of the first class received Rs.

[11] Abdul, Aziz, The Mansabdari System and the Moghul Army (Lahore,1967)

30,000 per month, the *mansabdar* of the second class was fixed at Rs. 29000 per month and that of the third, Rs. 28000 per month[12].

The *mansabdari* system included within its fold all officers of state, not merely member of the armed forces. Even the musicians, poets, painters and others were all given a *mansab* which in turn determined their salary. All those who held high offices, whether civil or military were given *mansab* appropriate to their position and none were asked to serve under others of lower rank. Unsurprisingly, it was expected that each *mansabdar* maintain the forces indicated by his *sawar* rank.

4.5.2 Branding and Descriptive Rolls

The horses of the *Mansabdars* were branded and for that reason had to be war worthy. The descriptive roll of every soldier was taken down so that not anyone could be passed of as a soldier.

4.5.3 Expansion of Mansabs and Mansabdars

To a certain extent under Jahangir but predominantly under his successors, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, the number of aspirants to the *mansabs* increased much further than the requirement of service.

4.5.4 Du-aspa Sih-aspa

The term *du-aspa sih-aspa* was first used in the 10th year of Jahangir's reign. It was however in the reign of Shah Jahan that it acquired a definite meaning. This practice was continued by Aurangzeb. It was a device to encourage the competent *mansabdars*.

According to the existing *mansabdari* rules all *mansabdars* of the same rank enjoyed equal emoluments albeit individual loyality or efficiency. This was not a unassailable practice. Shah Jahan tried to deal with this by granting this additional distinction to his more loyal and efficient *mansabdars*.

[12] Op-cit pp. 30-43

The device of granting *du-aspa sih –aspa*, did not entail a heavy burden on the exchequer for if the *Zat* rank of a *mansabdar* be added the corresponding financial burden would be much heavier. The *du-aspa sih-aspa* undoubtedly increased the *sawar* rank but it did not increase the numerals of *Sawar*. As it was deemed to be a part of the *sawar* rank the number both of the trooper and horse was doubled i.e., the obligation for the number covered by this rank was double the obligation for the ordinary rank. If chief quality lay in the fact that the strength of the military force was thereby increased without any additional expense to the exchequer under an increased *Zat* and (*mansab*)[13].

> *"The Du-aspa Sih-aspa rank was theoretical regarded as a port of Sawar rank; The usual official formula for stating the rank .is, for example,4000 zat 4000 sawar all (hama) du-aspa sihaspa which would mean 4000/4000 +4000 or 4000 sawar, of which 1,000 du-aspa sih-aspa, i.e., 4,000/4000. It could, therefore, never exceed the sawar rank, if any portion of the sawar rank became du-aspa sih-aspa, the remaining 3000 were barawurdi"*

4.5.5 Merits of the Mansabdari System

The Mughal army organised by Akbar, was a huge daunting force. Even some Rajput Rajas tried to adopt Akbar's system for their own armies. It without doubt was a great improvement on the system of army organisation of the Delhi sultanate's rulers. After the introduction of some reforms Akbar had a enhanced idea of how big an army he could hope to assemble for an expedition if he called upon a certain commander to join it.

The *dagh* and *chehra* system ensured that the horses supplied would be war- worthy and the soldiers not a sheer horde somehow got together for the occasion. The fixed status of commanders in the army made it easy to pick out the leader of an expedition though, rather peculiarly, we find joint commander appointed occasionally. It was up to the leader to establish his worth and to motivate his followers to give off their best.

---

[13] Abdul.Aziz, The Imperial Treasury of the Indian Moghuls (Lahore,1942)

4.5.6 Demerits of the System

Judged by the contemporary standards of military organisation elsewhere, one is not making a tall claim if it were reorganised the Mughal army more than pleasingly needs of the time and provided the Mughal state with a military apparatus which for its strength and outstanding power was second to none. There were some organizational weaknesses and voids in this system. Amid others a few are sketched below.

4.5.6.1 Absence of Regiments

Though the commands indicated status, there was no division of the army in to regiments or other graded divisions. A force 5000 strong was usually loose collection of smaller and un-graded units of varying sizes. The soldiers were parts of the main army of their own particular units, but not of regular regiments of equal numerical strength.

4.5.6.2 The Care of the Horse

About more wearisome than the absence of division in to regiments, was the fact that the soldiers went in to battle on their own horse and with their own arms. The horses were generally of the required quality, but the arms were not always so. But if the horse was killed in the battlefield, the soldier had to provide for another horse at his own expanse. It has been suggested that this made the soldiers anxious with the safety of their mounts, and may have prevented their fighting's so well as they otherwise could have done.

4.5.6.3 Mughal Artillery and Matchlock men

The Mughal Army was mainly composed of cavalry. In the preliminary stage its efficiency was maintained, but gradually it was no more a force to tot up with. Artillery and elephants were under the emperor's special command and were supplies to the commanders as and when necessary.

4.6 THE MUGHAL FINANCE

The financial resources of the Mughals may be separated in to two categories, i.e. Agrarian and non-agrarian. Under the head non-agrarian, we may place in the income derived from customs, transit duties, ferry taxes, octroi at chief cities, monopolies war booty fines, mints and present. But the income derived from these sources was negligible when compared with the income realised from the agrarian sources which is land revenue.

4.6.1 Revenue Machinery

The administrative organisation of the land revenue was placed under the *Vazir*. He was also called as *Diwan-i-Ala* or *Diwan-i-kul*. Below him the provincial *diwan* was the most vital person concerned with revenue and finance. The chief revenue officers in the *Sarkar* and *Pargana* were the *Amil Munshif* or *Amin*, *Bitikchi*, the *Khazanchi*, *Qanungo*, and the *patwaari*.

The duties of the revenue officials were not only to carry out assessment and collection of revenue but also to make efforts to increase the yield

To assist the revenue administration, the Mughal Empire was divided in to revenue circles called *Mahals*. The *Mahal* often coincided with the *parganas*, but it was not a rule. In 1573, Akbar had introduced circles yielding a crore of dams and the person uncharged of the circle i.e. the *Amil* was called the *Karori*.

4.6.2 Experiments in Land Revenue System

For the purpose of assessment after making a number of experiments in the twenty four year of his reign. Akbar introduced the *Ain-i-Dashala* in i.e. provinces of Agra, Allahabad, Bihar, Delhi, Lahore, Multanand Oudh. In other words these provinces were put under *Zabti* System. In other parts *Batai* or *Nasaq*, according to convenience were allowed to operate.

The land was classified according to its productivity into the following:

(i) Polaj

(ii) Parauti

(iii) Chachar

(iv) Banjar

One third of the average produce of the first two categories was the land revenue paid. *Chachar* and *Banjar* land were progressively taxed.

The revenue was assessed on the basis of actual yield of each crop, and not in the form of the money range or a tax fixed for certain period or forever the produce of each crop the amount of the tax to be realised was fixed crop wise according to the schedule of rates called *dasturs* prepared by the central government.

Akbar's revenue system was *Ryotwari* in which the actual cultivator of the soil being responsible for the payment of the revenue of the *Jagir* land was done by the government officials.

4.6.3 Various Forms of Assessment of Land Revenue

Numerous methods of assessment of land revenue were in use when Akbar came to the throne. The underlying principle was that the state should receive a share of the produce of land. The share varied from one fourth to one half of land revenue.

There were many system of assessment of land revenue. The following were the most central.

4.6.3.1 Batai

The system which had been established from very ancient time was one in which the state and the cultivator shared the crop. In other words whatever was the produce it was shared between the producer and the state. *Batai* as it was and is called so even today took several forms.

4.6.3.2 Kankut

In this system, firstly the land was measured by *Jarib* or by pacing. In second stage the produce of a unit of the field was assessed and then it was applied to the entire land under the share of the state was determined in kind. But this share was paid to be in cash.

4.6.3.3 Zebt

The *Zebt* was a very well-known method of revenue assessment. Akbar disseminated a schedule of rates in cash per *bigha* for every crop.

The unit of measurement was named as *bigha-i-illahi* which was 0.59 an acre. However in later times, the statistics compiled were based on the *Bigha-i-daftari* which was two third of a *bigha-i-ilahi*. As stated before the land was divided in to four grades –

- Polaj (land under continous cultivation)
- Parauti (very infrequently left fallow)
- Chachar (land frequently left fallow)
- Banjar (barren land on the basis of fertility)

The first two grades of land were divided in to good, middling and bad according to their yield. The average of the three was to be the estimated produce which was taken as the basis of assessment.

In the other two cases – *chachar* and *Banjar* where the land was not much of appropriate quality, a different mode of assessment was adopted marks by a tender towards a progressive increase in revenue over the year.

The innovation resulted in the evolution of a system commonly known as *Zebt* system.

4.6.3.4 Nasq

Along with the *Batai* and *Zebt* undeniable other methods of assessment also prevailed in the country. One of them was *Nasq* the hassle and expense of preparing records on the spot was avoided by *Nasq*.

4.6.4 Collection of Land Revenue

Following each harvest and following the necessary calculations a demand for the whole village was prepared. It was the duty of the headman or the *Muqaddam* to collect the amount. To make his work trouble-free, demand slip for each cultivator was prepared and supplied to him .He was to make the collection and pay the proceeds in to the treasury.

4.6.5 Other Sources of Revenue

Land revenue formed the foremost source of the Mughal Empire, but the emperors imposed other levies as well. From ten to twenty five percent of their dues was deducted from the salaries of *Mansabdars* and put aside to be spent on explicit purposes. Some of the ruling chiefs still paid tribute but most of them maintained a contigent of troops at the imperial court. This avoidance of expenditure was in fact an addition to the state resources. Profession tax was paid by many skilled workers. *Jizia* came to be paid by all able-bodied adult Hindu males after Aurangzeb reimposed it in 1679.

Customs duties were charged at the port since the shape both of import and export duties. Goods in transit were often charged transit dues as they passed from place to place. Octroi duty was charged in the big cities. As all mines were owned by the states, these were let out to leaseholders on payment on a fee. There was also some sizeable income from mintage, though there was free coinage with this feature that everyone seeking to convert his gold in to coins could do it by paying some discount to the mints.

The Mughal workshops turned out articles for the use of the state and the emperors. Surplus produce was sold to other consumers as well. The profit on these commercials undertakings seems to have been extensive.

These also exerted some state monoplies on minerals like lead, sulphate and salt.

Nazars i.e. presents made to the Mughal emperors formed another source of income. Fees and judicial fines also brought in a considerable amount.

The Mughal Empire united beneath and tremendously centralised admiration was in all probability the biggest political entity over established in the subcontinent of India. Even when so thoroughly endowed our people could not be regarded as prosperous. The reason is not tricky to seek out. The agrarian policy of the Mughals as initiated by Akbar, despite its ingenuity of the grand Mughal, was based on the exploitation of the basic producer, the peasant, which left with him a basic subsistence. Yet again the increasing financial requirement of political expansions pitched "*the revenue demand at the highest rate possible*". The extraction of the government increased, cultivation declined and the sufferings of the people accumulated.

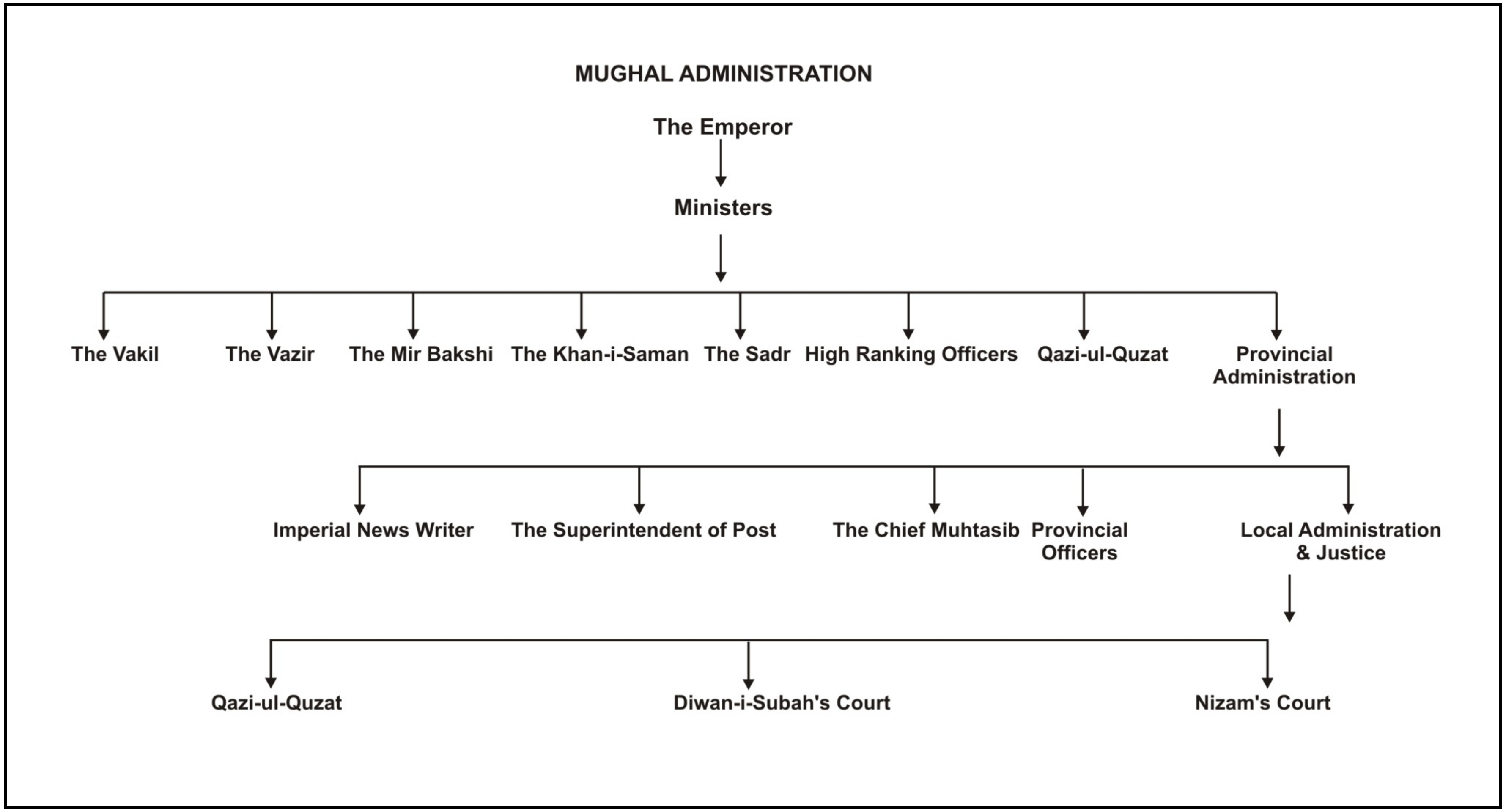


Figure 4.1: Structure of Mughal Administration

Chapter 5
Conclusion

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The research concentrates on the trading towns in India which grew and developed during the Mughal Era. It analyzes why during this period towns started to appear almost in all the directions of such a vast empire. It aims to find out what was the reason behind the growth of so many towns. Further the work brings out the classification of towns during the Mughal Era. It also builds a relationship between the geographical factors and their impact on the growth of these towns. It also describes how specialization of commodities gave birth to different types of markets during that time. Further it proves details of the structure of these towns. The work then focuses on the occupational structure of the six towns that have been selected for the study, their evolution through time by studying their current status with the help of census 2001.

The first chapter elaborates on the glory and grandeur of the Mughal Empire. It explains how the glory of the Mughal empire was proverbial, that there was a continuous movement of man, money and resources which led to a strong interface within the Mughal Empire. The desire of governing a strapping political empire by the Mughals gave birth to a series of urban centres in different directions of the empire for effective control. Towns performed different types of functions by becoming either administrative or commercial or religious centres. It also shows how for nearly one hundred and seventy years (1556-1719) the Mughal Empire remained a dynamic, centralized-complex organization. There was trade not only within the Empire but also with the outside world .It also introduces the general structure of towns during the Mughal Empire, also talks their common factors and features and further explains that how it becomes interesting to look in to the detailed structure of these towns.

The first chapter then looks in to the research questions, sets objectives of the study and about the hypothesis, study area, research methodology and also includes literature survey.

The second chapter gives the geographical profile of the study area wherein climatic factors such as rainfall, temperature, relief and vegetation has been examined. The chapter also dealt with relationship between the development of these towns and the role of geographical factors in their expansion.

The third chapter gives a detailed description of the structure of towns during the Mughal Era. It also gives the reason for emergence of towns during the Mughal Era, how these towns had welcomed and in a way inaugurated an era of centralized power i.e. centralized government over a vast territory to govern an effective rule over the empire. The emperors needed effective urban centres which could be used as different administrative divisions for covering an allotted area under its jurisdiction so that there was effective law and order therefore considering this point as their major agenda, potentialities of different areas were recognized to make these areas huge urban centres and therefore after the thirteenth century various towns started appearing in different directions.

This chapter gives classification of towns which existed during the Mughal Era, four types of towns which existed at that time are first, primarily administrative centres where industry, commerce and even religious sanctity developed in its wake such as the capital cities though in the course of time their administrative significance, for ex Agra was sometimes overshadowed by their non –administrative significance

Second category of commercial towns where administrative aspect followed the commercial activities, Third were the centre of pilgrimage such as Banaras, where proximity to river facilitated commercial intercourse and constant crowding of pilgrims attracted crafts and service personnel from the neighbouring districts or even further off region. There were towns which had risen because of some distinction achieved. And further there were port cities like Cambay and Surat.

The study area includes Agra, Ahmedabad, Banaras, Cambay, Delhi, Surat. It also informs about the various popular commodities of that time, it also talks about the famous cotton textiles of the different towns of that time. The chapter also delineates how specialization of commodities gave birth to different types of markets. Indeed during the Mughal era one town was different from other but the most interesting

aspect is the economic morphology which was very well marked in Delhi. There were different types of markets existing for keeping different kinds of goods for ex the *Nakhas* was a daily market place where cotton and slaves were sold, both wholesale and retail. Gunges were usually the grain markets, *Mandavis* were markets of goods, usually provision or grains, a *katra* was an enclosed market. The chapter gives a description of the various types of markets that existed during that period ranging from emporias to hats. It also describes the structure of towns, the infrastructure, such as *sarais*, *karkhanas*, banking facilities, gardens etc.

Chapter four gives a detailed account about the Mughal administration. It gives a detailed description of the power structure during the Mughal period. It gives an account of various ministers and also talks about the *Mansabdari* system.

The location of majority of towns was determined by proximity to a perennial river, which would guarantee continued water supply through–out the year and assisted transport. The towns which did not have access to a river had large tanks or reservoirs for the supply of water.

A majority of towns for defence were surrounded by outer walls made either of mud or stone fronted with deep trenches. Within the wall some kind of planning was perceptible in the position assigned to the fort or town-citadel, houses of nobles, bazaars, residential quarters of merchants, craftsmen, urban professional and labourers, places of worship, *sarais* and huts of menials, etc. Gardens, burial, cremation ground and slaughter house were usually laid out without the wall.

The period of Mughal Empire or rather of the sixteenth century, seventeenth and part of the eighteenth century appears to be out-and-out golden age of urbanization. At least for much of the Northern and central India, there was both a spreading out of the size of the pre-existing cities and towns and a propagation of the new foundations

Overall, if one analyzes the whole issue one can summarize that urbanization foresees a state of development where among other things, a compact conglomeration of inhabitants with in a delimited area, a centralized governing organism, and industries

as the materially productive units exist. This is in contrast to the rural society which implies a dispersed population over a relatively larger area, a rather local administrative set up, and cultivation as the principal productive activity. But while the villagers without any large urban centres in the vicinity can persist for centuries, the latter would perish in the absence of an agriculturally prosperous hinterland, that is to say that flourishing agriculture is an indispensable complementary base for the size of an urban structure.

During the Mughal era the towns grew so flourishingly because they were supported with rich agricultural hinterland.

Promising agriculture is a complementary base for the rise of an urban structure. Further if a town's industrial and economic activities are to grow, their most favourable utilization of all the natural assets and resources with which the area may be endowed, becomes an indispensable prerequisite. The agricultural prosperity has therefore, to be in regard to both food grains and valuable crops specially the cotton crop, so that while the former sustains the urban population, the latter feeds the industry particularly the cotton industry, because during that time the cotton fabrics dominate the economy in much the same manner, as steel works do today. The volume and variety produced and the level of traffic achieved in cotton goods went a long way in shaping the wealth of a town. It was through their manufactured products and commercial intercourse that the towns were able to attain feasibility.

Urbanisation was used as an apparatus by the Mughal Emperors to govern a strong political era. By opening towns in different directions, they could keep a check over the whole empire and also were able to make a robust economic and political empire.

The political amalgamation of so vast an area under a single ruler unavoidably stimulated commercial and therefore urban life. It became easy to trade since the empire was under one ruler and that too a large area was available for traders to trade. The great expansion of commerce during the Mughal period – to be seen most strikingly in the manufacturing and marketing of textiles to meet both an internal and external demand- unavoidably brought swelled wealth to the major urban centres of

the country, especially to those cities whose location made them natural entrepots whether by land or by sea.

The blossoming of an urban–based economy and of urban culture during the supremacy of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan, and for much of supremacy of Aurangzeb, derived largely from the promising political circumstances which were highly beneficial to commerce and to the trading and artisan classes of the cities.

Urban artisans and craftsmen were divided in to two groups. The first group consisted of those people who asserted control over their product until it was sold in the market and included relatively well-to-do artisans who owned their equipments and produced luxury goods for a limited market as well as poor artisans who produced ordinary goods for the larger market. The second group included those artisans who had no control over their goods. For these persons, the materials and in some cases, the tools, and the final product remained the property of someone else.

Karkhanas, *sarais*, transport facilities, banking and credit facilities were available.

Building *sarai* was regarded as a beneficent activitiy of the imperial government, the nobles and the big merchants. Besides the *Sarai* built on highways, there was barely any town which did not have one. They were meant for travellers and strangers and for all those who came for business in the town and had to stay overnight. Hospitals were sometimes established in the big towns.

At Ahmedabad, a hospital meant for poor patients which was run by the Imperial government was present. In the accounts of European travellers there are several references to hospitals for animals in almost all the principal towns of Gujarat. They were run by money collected as alms and from certain big merchants. Here old, sick and disabled animals, birds and insects were looked after.

Mughal cities were frequently surrounded by marvellous gardens. According to *Pelsaert*, they served two purposes. During the life-time of the nobles they "*served for their pleasure and enjoyment….. And after death for their tombs*." Nobles used to splurge generously on gardens. A huge amount of money was spent on ensuring the supply of running water, feeding tanks, forming waterfalls and fountains. On high

bricks and stone walls and towers in each corner, cupolas, pillars and galleries, on arched gateways and on all sorts of trees, grass and flowers and flowers.

Merchants in the Mughal India did not form guilds that integrated or established prices and conditions of trade, and negotiated with princes and kings for property rights and protection. The only organizations that were similar were the merchant councils of Ahmadabad in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and those of Banaras in the eighteenth century. They were not there in Shahjahanabad or Surat during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

During the Mughal period the foremost merchant group in North India seems to have been the *Khattris*, a Hindu caste of traders and administrators from Punjab. This caste dominated commerce in Agra and Lahore in the seventeenth century and along with some Gujarati and Rajasthani merchants, controlled trade in Shahjahanabad as well.

The two most stupendous items of import in to Mughal India comprised treasure (notably silver) and horses, while textiles dominated exports. The Mughal cavalry generated an enormous demand for quality horses from Central Asia and Persia. Above and beyond this there were horses required by the cavalry troopers. To retain such large number of horses of non –Indian breeds, there was need to import horses continuously, particularly since these breeds could not be raised well in India .While bullion and horses constituted the main import and must have accounted for the major portion of the value of imports, there were also imports of certain other articles, namely precious stones, non precious metals like copper, quicksilver, tin, lead; amber beads and vermillion.

Russian hides, pearls, high quality woollen and silken cloth from Europe, Persia and China, unprocessed silk from China, spices from South- East Asia and Ceylon, coral cloves, coffee and ivory from the East African coast and the Red Sea, and dry fruit from Central Asia. From across the Himalayas came imports of gold, copper, lead, musk, ginger, borax, woollen stuff, wooden objects, hawks, falcons, etc.

Pelsaert also records the quantities of Quicksilver, Vermillion, tin and Ivory brought by Dutch to Agra. As far as the exports are concerned, besides indigo, other main

agricultural and semi agricultural exports of Akbar's empire were sugar, rice, and opium. Rice was exported mainly from Bengal, with a good variety from Gujarat as well, to ports in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. Bengal also sent sugar in considerable quantities to Pegu and other places. Sugar of various varieties was taken overland via Kabul as well. Mughal India also exported opium.

Besides these agricultural commodities there was export of iron. Malabar pepper was one of the important items of export from India; but the producing regions and principal exporting ports were in South India, well outside Akbar's empire. The major portion of Indian exports was accounted for by textile. Indian cotton textiles were also exported by the Western overland routes. Babur mentions cotton cloth among the main merchandise brought from India to Kabul .Cotton textiles had a colossal market in the Red Sea countries and Turkey.

Turkey imported Gujarat cloth through the Levant. Quantities of Gujarat calico must thus have been regularly reaching Western Europe by the end of the Sixteenth century through the Levant as well as around the Cape of Good Hope.

Ceylon and the Maldives islands also imported cotton cloth from Gujarat. Gujarat cloth had still larger markets farther east. Cambay cloth of various kinds exported to Malacca. Bengal the prior vital exporting region sent white muslin to various markets extending from the Red Sea to China. Sind too produced cotton stuffs. Diverse kinds of Muslin, conceivably fine calico, were exported from the province to Portuguese India and Hormuz.

Mughal India also exported some quantities of Silk. Although Bengal silk exports were a striking features of India's trade in the seventeenth century, these do not seem to have been as large at the beginning of that century.

Agra

The city of Agra by far was considered the largest and most popular city of the Mughal Empire in the seventeenth century. The geographical location of Agra made the flow centripetal and Agra stood as the pompous town of the Mughal Empire. All

the routes in northern India radiated to and from Agra portraying it as “the heart of his empire or the navel of the whole realm

All goods moving between any two diverse parts of the empire were required to make a halt here. Apparently the city besides handling its own imports and exports was also acting as a transit depot, thus adding to its own commerce.

The Dutch factor *Pelsaert* visiting Agra in the beginning of the 17^{th} century rightly emphasized its importance ,the situation of the city at the junction of all the roads from distant countries ; All goods must pass this way as from Gujarat, Tatta (or Sind) from Kabul, Kandahar or Multan, to the Deccan or Burhanpur to those places or to Lahore; and the Bengal and the whole east country; there are no practicable alternative routes, and the roads carry indiscernible quantities of merchandise, especially cotton goods. Thus the city catered to the demands of local, regional, national, and international markets and became an important collecting and distribution centre for retail as well as wholesale trade. Besides finished goods there was also a constant flow of raw materials and specialised products in and out of the city, for goods manufactured locally in neighbouring regions and those in other distant regions.

Important industries at Agra were cotton industry, Cotton textiles from the place were very famous.

The main commodities from the adjoining regions for which the city was collection centre were cash crops such as indigo and tobacco, agricultural commodities such as wheat, rice, sugar, vegetable oils and butter (ghee) and other commodities such as spices, drugs, opium, salt, walnut, asafoetida, lead, volatile oils(perfumes) lac, gum, vermilion, quicksilver, and coral. Indigo was mainly produced in Hindaun, Bayana, Panchoona, Bisaur, khanwa, Khurja , Koil and Itimadpur, Byana and Kalpi were main producers of sugar. Shawgur was the only place near Agra which supplied saltpetre; while salt was dug from nearby region of Etawah. All these commodities were first brought to the markets of Agra before they were sent out, Places like Gwalior, Kalpi, kotputli, and Todah Bhim which were under the jurisdiction of Agra *subah* were famous for mines of iron, copper and turquoise. Agra also used the minerals and metal

resources of Rajputana. Spices were supplied to Agra mainly by Indian merchants from Deccan though the Dutch also got interested in its trade during the middle of the 17^{th} century. Armenian merchants brought quantities of broad cloth here

One more significant industry was metallurgy. Besides articles of silver and gold, those of copper, iron and brass were manufactured in Imperial workshops for domestic use by talented artisans in Agra.

The brass rings were manufactured in Agra and chemicals were used to dissolve the brass. There is also reference to quick-silver mines near Agra. Fitch mentions diamonds also. The stone cutting industry blossomed from the time of Babur. *Abul Fazl* refers to "*masterly sculptors and cutting artists of form in Agra*."The countless huge and beautiful buildings of Agra made in red stone clearly demonstrate how nascent this industry must have been.

Embroidery with gold and silver thread on beautiful textiles chiefly silks was one of the most important crafts of Agra.

A further blooming craft was inlay work and carving designs on various articles of metals and stones.

Thus during 16 and 17 centuries Agra became a nucleus of international trade and reached its pinnacle in economic prosper. Besides its favourable geographical setting, undeniable other factors also played a conspicuous role in the economic advancement of Agra. The commercial and industrial life of Agra could not have received such a momentum had there not been a constant supply of food stuff and raw materials from the fertile hinterland for the overgrowing needs of the city's mobile and permanent population. They were complimentary to each other, resulting in a relationship of mutual benefit. The surrounding hinterland found a ready market for their agricultural produce and the population of Agra city never felt a paucity of such articles of daily consumption.

There was an invariable movement of people from villages, towns, small and big cities to the capital cities to for temporary or permanent stay. These included

merchants, traders, bankers, skilled, semiskilled and unskilled artisans, craftsman, weavers, masons and labourers.

Ahmedabad

Tavernier calls it "*one of the largest towns in India*"-carrying on a considerable trade in a wide range of items, silk stuffs taking an important position among them

The economic magnitude of Ahmedabad was immense. Basically two types of trade were found in Ahmedabad that is local trade and the trade occasioned by benefit of its being an entreport to the maritime commerce. It also acted as a major market for Indigo Saltpetre produced around Budh nagar was exported from Ahmedabad.

Silk industry was quite outstanding the raw silk was imported from Bengal and the Ahmedabad weavers had become experts in manufacturing satins and velvets of all kind and colours. Carpets were also made. Ahmedabad when considered from the cotemporary standards would be more in nature of a super magnum rather than an ordinary town though it was just a provincial capital of the Mughal Empire. The most striking feature of this town was its securities measures in regard to which it had surpassed even the metropolitan towns of the empire.

Banking being a natural consequence to a prosperous trade, numerous bankers flourished at Ahmedabad. The *Bohra* bankers are frequently mentioned in the sources. Principally a Muslim trading community with wide business ramifications and maintaining *vakils* (agents) at all important trading centres, it was expedient and lucrative for them to be engaged in money transactions as well. Thus they in all likelihood came to presume the character and role of bankers.

Delhi

It became the capital of the Mughal empire in 1638,[1] Just like Agra, Delhi also had proximity to river body and this geographical gain was very beneficial in defining the commercial traffic at Delhi ; Numerous commodities were found in Delhi during that

time, The popular ones were sugar, indigo, paper, jaggery, turmeric and coarse muslin etc. An assortment of coarse muslin was found here, these were Gangajal, Calico, Chintz etc. if one looks in to the paramount industries of Delhi, Cotton industries but more so Chintz were well coloured, next in quality to those of Masulipatnam only these were also produced in large quantities and several qualities with a wide range of prices to suit the pocket of high and low. This very fact shows that Delhi had material available for both the classes i.e. for the privileged as well as for the common man.

Delhi was well reputed for its dyeing of cotton fabrics, especially the type of dyeing called tie-dyeing, its famous quilts used to be dyed thus. The indigo industry too was in a promising state magnetize merchants in large number good indigo used to be produced in the quantity within the environs of the city; a prosperous leather industry was also present.

Different types of markets existed, these diverse markets kept different sorts of goods for ex the *Nakhas* was a daily market place where cotton and slaves were sold, both wholesale and retail. *Gunges* were usually the grain markets, *Mandavis* were markets of goods usually provision or grains. A *katra* was an enclosed market, and just like a *mundi*, might be named after some article sold there or its founder, many *katras* occur in the sources. At Delhi a *Nil katra*, (indigo) there were still other bazaars, bearing again the names of the commodities in which they mainly traded or represented their founders, such as the Khasbazaar, khanambazaar, chaoribazaar, jawhari bazaar and rajabazaar etc.

Varanasi

It was admired not only for its commercial significance but it was a famous pilgrim site of Hindus. Silk stuff, gold and silver embroidery, sugar, calico, chintz, were among the commodities which were traded. It emerged as a significant trading centre for cotton textiles. The variety of cotton goods produced at Banaras were excellent, several of them were bordered with gold and silver threads. In view of *Abul Fazal* and

Palesaert, there seems to have been a progress in the cities manufacture and all the subsequent writers agree to the excellent quality of its stuff.

Cambay

It appears that a large variety of goods were exported annually from Cambay and the vessels on their onset composed and brought various special goods and commodities from different places. These goods were of all varieties these were white stamped and painted silk stuffs, quilts, carpets, Indigo, Paper, Leather goods, Dressed hide, Opium and other drugs, Iron, Large quantities of Sugar, Dried Ginger, Raw Cotton, Asafoetida, precious stones.

The vessels reaching Cambay from east delivered silk from China, Quicksilver, Vermillion, Large quantities of Spices, Sandal woods, Pearls from extreme south of peninsula, Cordage Coconut in large quantity, Oil, Honey from Maldives and Slaves from Zeila[2]. Besides these Rupee mint Aurangzeb was also there at Cambay.

Surat

It was already a port of some magnitude for pilgrim traffic since Tapti river presented a harbour, while within small discharge silting was not too immense a peril. Its benefit as a port was enhanced by the unearthing of a hole, or a natural under sea though opposite the village of Swally, presenting outstanding anchorage for huge ships.

Surat continued to instil large amount of bullion into the empire. The Hindustani consignment ordained for south reached Surat by way of Burhanpur. The goods incorporated Poppy, Indigo, Opium, Iron, Ship building, Pineapple, Gumlac, Spices, Sugar, Sandal, etc. Whereas returning to Surat ships brought musk from China, Horses from Arabia, Slaves and Ivory from Ethopia[3].

Regarding the occupational structure most of the towns are having predominantly male population as workers in all the categories. The percentage of male workers with respect to total workers ranged from eighty three percent to ninety percent and in case of female it is ten percent to fifteen percent therefore basically the structure was dominated by male workers. There is lack of equity among the participation of male and female workers.

Moreover all these towns are dynamic in nature. Be it demographically, socially, politically or economically these towns have evolved from their past status and are still evolving as they are evolutionary in nature.

It has been seen that a multitude of factors leading to the rise and growth of individual towns; and any classification on the basis of functions that a town mainly performed must take in to account not one or two but a number of categories. The categories of town included; Administrative centres; marts with access to raw materials from the country around to ensure a permanent manufacturing character; positions on navigable river or land route; ports; places of religious sanctity, and of pilgrimage; places possessed of strategic situations on hills passes or borders, contributing to their military as well as commercial importance.

Occasionally more than one factor could coalesce to account for the rise and growth of a town. But by and large it may be said that whatever the origin of towns it was the industries and subsequently the trade which assured their continued survival and stirred their further growth.

There are examples of towns which started out and developed as administrative centres but did not die out when they stopped to function as such owing to they having acquired position as industrial centres or marts such as Agra.

A very important fact that emerges is that the Mughal administration in the different regions of the empire followed a fairly unvarying pattern. The officials posted in and around the town and their status and functions all-embracing, but not so much

according to regions, as to size and importance of towns. Unsurprisingly a big city, which contained a number of *mahals*, could have a huge number of custom officials, where as a small town which had only one *mahal* had fewer officials. But on the whole, the designations, duties and functions in various towns were identical, and they were appointed by the same measures.

Secondly, the system was noticeably centralized. For supervision with hold to general as well as fiscal smaller towns came under the jurisdiction of officers at the provincial capitals and the latter under ministers at the Imperial court. Complaints from mundane towns were carried to provincial headquarters and at times unswervingly to the emperor.

Local officials had little decision making powers. Imperative issues before being disposed of locally had to be referred to the headquarters. Auxiliary, the centre kept an eye on local affairs all the way through the intelligence department and reports which it received from number of local officials independently.

There was modest participation of local people, or local influential, in the administration of towns. From time to time, nevertheless the local officials invited prominent citizens for consultation. But on the whole, such cases were not many and had little effect in restraining the unpredictability of Mughal local administration.

Bibliography

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

1) F.Bernier, I.Brock (transl.),Travels in the Mogul Empire, A.D.1656-1668 (London: Archibald Constable,1981)

2) Francisco Palsaert(1626), Remonstrantie, trans. W.H.Moreland and P.Geyl, Jahangir's India, Cambridge,1925

3) Frey Sebastian Manrique, Travels of Frey Sebastian Manrique (1628-41), trans. C. ELuard and H.Hosten, 2 vols., Hakluyt Society,1927.

4) Early Travels in India, 1583-1619 (ed.) W.Foster (Oxford University Press,1921)

5) H. Elliot,(ed.) J.Dowson, The history of India, as told by its own historians: the Muhammedan period, Vol.VI (London,1877)

6) Peter Mundy, The Travels of Peter Mundy, Vol.II, Travels in Asia, 1628-1634. Ed. Richard Carnac Temple, Hakluyt Society, 1914

7) Tavernier's Travels in India, Vol.II, (ed.) V.Ball (London: Macmillan and Co., 1889)

8) Tavernier's Travels in India, Vol.I,(ed.) V.Ball (London:Macmillan and Co., 1889)

9) The English Factories in India,(ed.) W.Foster (Oxford University Press,1911),13 Vols. India Office Archives, Letter Book VII

10) Thomas Roe, The Embassy of sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul,1615-1619,ed.W foster,2 Vols, Hakluyt Society,1889;revised one-vol.edn,London,1926,reprinted1970

Archival Sources

11) Abul Fazal 'ALLAMI*, A' in-i-bari,* Vol .1, Eng tr. by H. Blochmann, Calcutta, 1873

12) Beveridge, A.S. *"The Akbar Nama of Abul Fazal*, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1972. The *Jahangirnama. Memoirs of Jahangir, Emperor of India,* (transl.,ed.) W. Thackston (Oxford Unversity Press,1999)

13) *The Shah Jahan Nama of Inayat Khan:*an abridged history of the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan, compiled by his royal librarian. The nineteenth–century Manuscript Translation of A.R.Fuller (British Library, Add. 30,777), (eds.) W.Begley and Z.Desai (Delhi :Oxford University Press,1990)

14) *The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri or Memoirs of Jahagir*. From the first to the twelfth year of his Reign, (trasl.) A.Rogers, (ed.) H. Beveridge (London:Royal Asiatic Society,1909)

15) The *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri or Memoirs of Jahangir*. From the thirteenth to the Beginning of the Nineteenth Year of his Reign, (transl.) A.Rogers, (ed.) H.Beveridge (London Royal Asiatic Society,1914)

Secondary Sources

16) A. Das Gupta, "*Introduction II: The Story in A. Das Gupta and M. Pearson*" (eds.), India and the Indian Ocean, 1500-1800 (Delhi: Oxford University Press,1999)

17) Alam, Muzaffar, "*The Crisis of Empire in Mughal North-India: Awadh and the Punjab*", 1707-1748 (New Delhi: OUP, 1986).

18) Alavi, Seema (ed.), "*The Eighteenth Century in India: Debates in Indian History and Society"* (New Delhi: OUP, 2002).

19) Ali, M. Athar. "*The Mughal Policy--A Critique of Revisionist Approaches*," Modern Asian Studies London, 1993.

20) Aziz Ahamad, "*Studies in Islamic Culture in Indian Environment*" New Delhi 1995.

21) B.Krishna, Commercial Relations between India and England (1601 to 1757) (London: Routledge and sons 1924)

22) B.Watson, "*Indian Merchants and English Private Interests: 1659-1760 in A. Das Gupta and M. Pearson"* (eds.), India and the Indian Ocean, 1500-1800 (Delhi: Oxford University Press,1999)

23) Bayly, C.A. "*Ruler's, Townsmen, and Bazaars: North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion*", 1770-1870. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

24) Bhattacharya, B.B. "*Urban Development in India (since pre historic times)"* Concept Publishing company, New Delhi, 2006.

25) C. Hamilton, "*The Trade Relations between England and India"* (1600-1896) (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co.,1919)

26) Census of India, "*Towns and Urban Agglomerations*", 2001.

27) Chaudhuri, K. N., "*Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750*" (Cambridge: CUP, 1985).

28) Chaudhury, Sushil, "*From Prosperity to Decline, Eighteenth Century Bengal*" (New Delhi: Manohar, 1999.)

29) Das, Kamal, Kishore. "*Economic History of Moghul India: An Annotated Bibliography*", 1526-1875. Calcutta: Santiniketan, 1991.

30) Dasgupta, A. "*Indian Merchants and the Trade in the Indian Ocean*." Pages 407-33 in Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib, eds., The Cambridge Economic History of India, 1: c.1200-c.1750. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982

31) Digby, Simon. "*The Maritime Trade of India*." Pages 125-62 in Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib, eds., The Cambridge Economic History of India, 1: c.1200-c.1750. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

32) Dutt, R. C., The Economic History of India 2 vols. (London: Unwin, 1970).

33) Elliot, H.M., & Dowsan, J, "*The History of India as told by its own Historian*", Kitab Mahal, Allahabad, Vol. 3, 4 &5.

34) Gascoigne, Bamber. "*The Great Moghuls"*. London: Cape, 1971.

35) Goalen, Paul. India: "*From Mughal Empire to British Raj*" Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

36) Gokhale, Balkrishna Govind, "*Surat in the Seventeenth Century: a Study in Urban History of Pre-Modern India*" (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1979).

37) Gupta, Ashin Das, "*Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat*" c. 1700-1750, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1979.

38) Gupta J.P. "*Urban glimpses of Mughal India: Agra the imperial capital",* South Asia Books

39) Habib, Irfan. "*The Agrarian System of Mughal India*", 1556-1707. New York: Asia, 1963.

40) Habib, Irfan. "*An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*". Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982.

41) Habib, Irfan. "*Mughal India*." Pages 214-25 in Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib, eds., "*The Cambridge Economic History of India*", 2: c.1200-c.1750. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

42) Habib, Irfan, ed. "*Medieval India, 1: Researchers in the History of India*", 1200-1750. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992.

43) Hambly, Gavin. "*Cities of Mughal India:Delhi, Agra, and Fatehpur Sikri*" London: Elek,1968

44) Irvine, William. "*The Later Mughals*" Delhi: Oriental Book Reprint Corporation, 1971.

45) J.Keay, India: A history (London: Harper Collins,2000)

46) K.Chaudhari, "*The trading world of Asia and the English East India Company*",1660-1760 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1978)

47) K. M. Ashraf, "*Life and Conditions of the people of Hindustan*", Delhi, 1959.

48) Moosvi, Shireen, "*The Economy of the Mughal Empire*", c. 1595: A Statistical Study. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987.

49) Moreland, W.H. "*India at the Death of Akbar, 1: An Economic Study*". N.p.: 1920. Reprint. Delhi: Atma Ram, 1962.

50) Moreland, W.H, "*From Akbar to Aurangzeb*", London, 1923.

51) Moreland, W.H, "*The Agrarian System of Moselim India*", Allahbad.

52) Mukherji, R.K., "The Economic History of India", 1600-1800, Allahabad, 1945.

53) Mukhia, Harbans, "*The Moghuls of India*" Blackwell Publishing Limited, USA, 2004.

54) Muzaffar Alam & Sanjay Subramanyam, eds, "*The Mughal State 1526-1750*", New Delhi.

55) Naqvi, H.K., "*Urban Centers and Industries in Upper India*", 1556-1803, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1968/London, 1969.

56) Naqvi, H.K, "*Urbanisation and Urban Centres under The Great Mughals*", 1556-1707, Published by the Registrar, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, 1971.

57) O.Prakash, "*The Dutch East India Company and the Economy of Bengal*", 1630-1720 (Princeton University Press,1985)

58) O.Prakash, "*The Dutch East India Company in the Trade of the Indian Ocean*" in A. Das Gupta and M. Pearson (eds.), India and the Indian Ocean,1500-1800 (Delhi:OUP,1999)

59) Prawdin Michael, "*The Builders of the Mogul Empire*", Geogra Allen & unwin Limited, London, 1963.

60) Raychaudhuri, Tapan, and Irfan Habib, eds. "*The Cambridge Economic History of India*", 1: c.1200-c.1750. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

61) Richards, John F. "*The New Cambridge History of India, II.5: The Mughal Empire*". Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

62) S.Dale, "*Indian merchants and Eurasian trade*", 1600-1750 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1994

63) Sarkar, Jadhunath. "*Fall of the Mughal Empire*". 4 vols. Bombay: Orient Longman, 1964-72.

64) Sirkar D.C. "*Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*", Moti Lal Banarsi Das, Delhi, 1971.

65) Smith Vincent A. "*Akbar the Great Mogul 1542 -1605*" S.Chand & Company, Delhi, 1962.

66) Spate, O. H.K., "*India and Pakistan, A General and Regional Geography*" London, 1954.

67) Streusand, Douglas E. "*The Formation of the Mughal Empire*". Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989.

68) Surendra Gopal, "*Commerce and Crafts in Gujarat: 16th and 17th centuries*", New Delhi, 1975.

69) Tripathi R.P, "*Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire*", New Delhi.

70) Trivedi, K. K., Agra: "*Economic and Political Profile of Mughal Suba*" 1580-1707, Pune 1998.

71) Verma, S. S., "*Urbanization and regional development in India*", Allahabad, 1989.

72) Yusuf, Husain, "*Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture*", Asia Publishing House

Journals

1) B.G. Gokhale. "*Tobacco in the Seventeenth Century India", Agricultural History,* Vol.48, No, 4 (Oct 1974), PP,-484-492.

2) B.G. Gokhale, "*Ahmedabad in the 17th Century*", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient,* Vol.12, No.2 (Apr, 1969), pp, 187-197.

3) Blake, Stephen P. "*The Structure of Monetary Exchange in North India: The Provinces of Medieval India"*

4) Agra, Delhi and Lahore in 1600, in John F. Richards, ed. "*The Imperial Monetary System of Mughal India"*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987.

5) Hameeda Khatoon Naqvi. "*Progress of Urbanization in United Provinces, 1550-1800*", Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, Vol.10. No.1 (July-1967), PP-81-101.

6) Husain, Mahdi. "*Agra before the Mughals*." Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society XV (1942): 49-66.

7) K.K.Trivedi. "*The Emergence of Agra as a Capital and a City: A Note on its Spatial and Historical Background during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*" Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, Vol.37, No.2. (1994), pp.147-170.

8) K.N. Chaudhuri, "*Some Reflection on the Town and Country in Mughal India*", Modern Asian Studies, Vol.12, No.1 (1978), pp.-77-96.

9) Singh, Chetan, "*Centre and Periphery in the Mughal State: The Case of Seventeenth Century Panjab*" Modern Asian Studies 22, 2 (1988): 299-318.

10) Subramanyam, Sanjay. "The Mughal State — Structure or Process? Reflections on Recent Western Historiography, "*Indian Economic and Social History Review* 29, 3 (1992): 291-321.

THE PROCESS AND PATTERN OF EMERGENCE OF STRUCTURE AND COMPOSITION OF MAIN TRADING TOWNS OF MEDIEVAL MUGHAL INDIA

ABSTRACT

SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF DELHI
FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

ISHA KAUSHIK

Under the Supervision of:

Dr. BARKATULLAH KHAN

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY
UNIVERSITY OF DELHI
DELHI-110007

APRIL, 2013

ABSTRACT

On the basis of the evolution of towns in different periods they can be classified as Ancient, Medieval and Modern towns. The ancient towns developed as religious and cultural centres and it was only during the Mughal period that a centralized political setup came in India and trading as an activity started.

Mughal Era witnessed a continuous movement of people, money and resources, which paved the way for a strong interaction between different provinces of that time. The aspiration to govern a strong political empire by the Mughals gave birth to a series of urban centres in diverse parts of the empire for efficient control. Towns performed different types of functions by becoming either administrative or commercial or religious centres.

Different types of commodities prevailed in these towns and were traded. The "Great Mughal's" wealth and grandeur was proverbial, and nearly all observers were impressed by the opulence and sophistication of the Mughal Empire.

For nearly one hundred and seventy years (1556-1719) the Mughal Empire remained a dynamic, centralized, and complex organization. The main trade route acted as blood vessel which ran through whole of the Mughal Empire and strengthened the interaction between various trading centres.

AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- To assess the influence of geographical parameters on the evolutions of trading towns during the Mughal Empire
- To assess that how specialization of commodities gave birth to different types of market during the Mughal Era.
- To assess the current status of these trading towns

HYPOTHESIS

- Historically urban centres of India are evolutionary in nature

Trade was a major economic activity of that time and the subcontinent's productivity ensured that it enjoyed a continuing favourable balance of trade,' Not only there was inland trade but also international trade since during the seventeenth century, craft industries originated and so on .Today centuries have passed after the decline of the Mughal empire but the towns that originated then are still existing though with a different scenario altogether.

Therefore to study their current status census 2001 data has been taken into account. It becomes imperative to look in to the general structure of towns which existed during that period.

As far as the urban centres are concerned in the Medieval Mughal India, different types of urban centres came up. But the four distinct types of towns which can be identified are as follows.

First, there were those cities whose leading function was administrative and where other roles manufacturing or sacral were of minor importance too and were partly dependent on the primary role, of such kind were Agra and Delhi.

Secondly, there were those cities enjoying a primarily commercial and manufacturing character, to which might have been attached administrative functions which on the other hand, remained subsidiary to their economic functions. Ahmedabad fell under this category.

Thirdly, there was the case of pilgrimage centres where trade and craft activities were drawn to where there was already an assemblage of both undeviating settled and ephemeral population as in the case of Banaras, conveniently located in relation to the major river systems of North India. Here the proximity to river assisted commercial intercourse and unvarying crowding of pilgrims fascinated crafts and service recruits from the neighbouring districts or even further off region.

And then were port towns like Cambay and Surat. Among the factors that aided to this process must be declared as the political circumstances approving to expanding economic activity which took birth from the creation of the *Pax Mughalica*, the opening out of both long distance trade within India itself and of India's international trade with a network of Asian and European markets, and ultimately in response to the latter, an enormous expansion of all aspects of textile manufacturing and marketing.

Various types of markets were found such as *bazaar-i-khas, katra, mandi, ganj, dariba, nakhas, peth,* fair (mela) and seasonal markets. Of the above the first six were permanent markets i.e. held daily, except on public holidays. The other three were periodic i.e. weekly, occasional and seasonal, being organised for one day in a week or twice a week in case of *peth* (hat) for a few days in case of a fair at some holy places and for few months in case of seasonal markets. After studying the Medieval structure of the towns and seeing their potential as trading centres, it would be interesting to know the present status of these towns. All these have evolved over a period of time and have acquired different status, some of them becoming Mega-cities, Metropolitans, class 2 towns as per the 2001 Census. To have a further idea about these towns their occupational structure as per 2001census has been taken in to account. Regarding the occupational structure, workforce of each and every town has been studied, emphasizing on the share of the Total workers, Main workers, Marginal workers and Non-workers and also the share of male and female in each and every category has also been taken in to account

The two most stupendous items of import in to Mughal India comprised treasure (notably silver) and horses, while textiles dominated exports. The Mughal cavalry generated an enormous demand for quality horses from Central Asia and Persia. Above and beyond this there were horses required by the cavalry troopers. To retain such large number of horses of non–Indian breeds, there was need to import horses continuously, particularly since these breeds could not be raised well in India .While bullion and horses constituted the main import and must have accounted for the major portion of the value of imports, there were also imports of certain other articles, namely precious stones, non precious metals like copper, quicksilver, tin, lead, amber beads and vermillion.

Russian hides, pearls, high quality woollen and silken cloth from Europe, Persia and China; unprocessed silk from China; spices from South- East Asia and Ceylon, coral cloves, coffee and ivory from the East African coast and the Red Sea; and dry fruit from Central Asia. From across the Himalayas came imports of gold, copper, lead, musk ginger, borax, woollen stuff, wooden objects, hawks, falcons etc.

Besides these agricultural commodities there was export of iron. Malabar pepper was one of the important items of export from India; but the producing regions and principal exporting ports were in South India, well outside Akbar's empire. The major portion of Indian exports was accounted by textile. Indian cotton textiles were also exported by the Western overland routes. Babur mentions cotton cloth among the main merchandise brought from India to Kabul. Cotton textiles had a colossal market in the Red Sea countries and Turkey.

Turkey imported Gujarat cloth through the Levant. Quantities of Gujarat calico must thus have been regularly reaching Western Europe by the end of the Sixteenth century through the Levant as well as around the Cape of Good Hope.

Ceylon and the Maldives islands also imported cotton cloth from Gujarat. Gujarat cloth had still larger markets farther east. Cambay cloth of various kinds exported to Malacca. Bengal the prior vital exporting region sent white muslin to various markets extending from the Red Sea to China. Sind too produced cotton stuffs. Diverse kinds of Muslin, conceivably fine calico, were exported from the province to Portuguese India and Hormuz.

Mughal India also exported some quantities of Silk. Although Bengal silk exports were a striking features of India's trade in the seventeenth century, these do not seem to have been as large at the beginning of that century.

Regarding the occupational structure, most of the towns are having predominantly male population as workers in all the categories. The percentage of male workers with respect to total workers ranged from eighty three percent to ninety percent and in case of female it is ten percent to fifteen percent therefore basically the structure was dominated by male workers. There is lack of equity among the participation of male and female workers.

Moreover all these towns are dynamic in nature. Be it Demographically, Socially, Politically or economically these towns have evolved from their past status and are still evolving as they are evolutionary in nature.

The first chapter gives an introduction of the study in which the aims and objectives, hypothesis and methodology are included it also includes a small literature review which gives an insight to the research.

The first chapter elaborates upon the glory and grandeur of the Mughal Empire, it explains how the glory of the Mughal empire was proverbial, that there was a continuous movement of man, money and resources which led to a strong interaction within the Mughal Empire. The desire of governing a strong political empire by the Mughals gave birth to a series of Urban centres in different parts of the empire for effective control. Towns performed different types of functions by becoming either administrative or commercial or religious centres. And it shows how for nearly one hundred and seventy years (1556-1719) the Mughal Empire remained a dynamic, centralized,-complex organization. There was trade not only within the Empire but with the outside world also.

The second chapter gives the geographical profile of the all towns which have been selected as the study area (Agra, Ahmedabad, Banaras, Cambay, Delhi, Surat) wherein climatic factors such as rainfall, temperature, relief and vegetation has been taken in to account as to develop a strong relationship between the development of these towns and the role of geographical factors in their development.

The third chapter gives a detailed description of the structure of towns during Mughal Era; It gives the reason as to why the towns started coming up during the Mughal Era, that how they had welcomed and in a way had inaugurated an era of centralized power i.e. centralized government over a vast territory to govern an effective rule over the empire, the emperors needed effective urban centres which could be used as different administrative divisions for covering an allotted area under its jurisdiction so that there is effective law and order therefore considering this point as their major agenda potentialities of different areas was recognized to make these areas huge urban

centres and therefore after the thirteenth century various towns started appearing in different directions.

The chapter then gives a detailed description of the towns; it also informs about the various popular commodities of that time, indigo, salt peter, quilts, sugar, quick silver, paper, spices, asafoetida, leather goods, opium, dried ginger. It also talks about the famous cotton textiles of the different towns of that time. The popular cotton textiles were calico, chintz, bafta, chautar, ghazi, sahan, etc. The chapter also deals with one of the objective of the study that how specialization of commodities gave birth to different types of markets, indeed during the Mughal era one town was different from other but the most interesting thing comes in the shape of the economic morphology which was very apparent within one town and this was very well marked in Delhi, there were different types of markets existing , different markets for keeping different sorts of goods for ex the Nakhas was a daily market place where cotton and slaves were sold, both wholesale and retail. Gunges were usually the grain markets, Mandavis were markets of goods, usually provision or grains, a katra was an enclosed market. It gives a description about the various types of markets that existed during that period ranging from emporias to hats.

The chapter four talks about the Mughal administration. It gives a detailed description about the power structure during the Mughal Empire. It gives an account of the various ministers and also talks about the Mansabdari system and tries to bring out the characteristics of a South-Asian specific administration.